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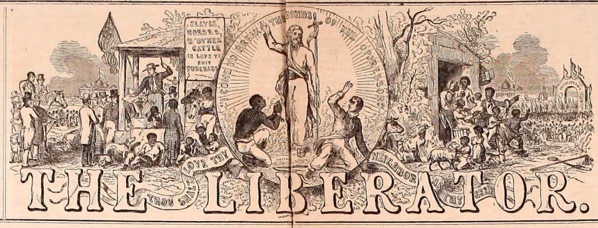
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The United States Constitution is "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell."

☞ "What order of men under the most absolute of monarchies, or the most aristocratic of republics, was ever invested with such an odious and unjust privilege as that of the separate and exclusive representation of less than half a million owners of slaves, in the Hall of this House, in the chair of the Senate, and in the Presidential mansion? This investment of power in the owners of one species of property concentrated in the highest authorities of the nation, and disseminated through thirteen of the twenty-six States of the Union, constitutes a privileged order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known. To call government thus constituted a Democracy is to insult the understanding of mankind. . . . It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and of slavery. There is no name in the language of national jurisprudence that can define it—no model in the records of ancient history, or in the political theories of Aristotle, with which it can be likened. It was introduced into the Constitution of the United States by an equivocation—a representation of property under the name of persons. Little did the members of the Convention from the Free States imagine or foresee what a sacrifice to Moloch was hidden under the mask of this concession."—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

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Refuge of Oppression.

"THE COVENANT WITH DEATH, AND THE AGREEMENT WITH HELL."

Extracts from a pamphlet, entitled "The National Controversy; or, The Voice of the Fathers upon the State of the Country." By Rev. Dr. Joseph C. Stiles, of Richmond, Virginia.

Behold the programme bodily imbedded in the heart of the Constitution! For all time to come, and for all the territory and population of the earth, now belonging to the great American Union, or that "may be included" within her dominions hereafter, there stands the great constitutional status of all national enumeration, representation, and taxation, there it stands—mark! embracing the "*three-fifths of all other persons*"! When these slaves fly from the service of the master, while this government exists, there stands the constitutional guarantee that on any foot of the nation's soil to which he may have escaped, on claim of that master, to whom the Constitution says his services are justly due—the fugitive "shall be delivered up." When these slaves rise in revolt against the master, while this government has a name on earth, there stands the constitutional guarantee, that Congress shall stretch out her strong arm in defence of the master, and in suppression of the insurgents. Thus, in the very clearest and strongest language, the Constitution guarantees to the South all maintenance and carrying out of the principles and practices of slavery, to which she had been accustomed before the formation of the Union.

The very feeblest statement, therefore, of the true slavery position of the South, we take to be this: By constitutional enactment, the South is entitled to *all such tolerance and countenance on the subject of slavery, both in language and in conduct, as shall afford her a reasonable opportunity of securing the profits of the institution, without being scandalized for its practice.*

We hold that the provisions of the Constitution, fairly interpreted, furnish ample proof of this definition.

The *nature* of the guarantees supports it. When they built up all the bulwarks of the Constitution around every principle and practice of slavery, what did the fathers mean? Surely to fortify to the South all the ordinary customs of slavery, without insult or encroachment, while the government stands. He who grants a privilege, conveys all that [illegible] ment of that which is granted. The North guarantees slavery to the South. If now she defames slavery, will not arrest the abstraction of slaves, and even obstructs the rendition of slaves, just so far she takes back what she had granted, diminishes the benefits and comforts of the relation, and breaks her guarantees. Again: if, on the one hand, the North sincerely deems slavery a state of society whose impiety, impolicy, and outrage should be publicly exposed on all occasions, then she makes herself *particeps criminis* by her guarantee of toleration; but if, on the other, slavery, under the circumstances, might be justifiably tolerated, then she lies under every obligation to secure to the slaveholder—what constitutional language so obviously implies—a comfortable, unobstructed prosecution of his guaranteed custom of society. If any man still denies that the *nature* of the guarantees demands a practical and respectful toleration of the institution, let him compare the warring attitudes of the North, first in framing, and then in interpreting the Constitution. Standing up to *form* the Constitution, the Northern man says to his Southern neighbor, "Yes! we will concede all you require. On the one hand, your slaves shall enjoy all the *dignities* you would have conferred upon them. Like other men of the country, they shall be counted in the national *census*, constitute *subjects of direct taxation*, and be represented in all the dignities and authorities of the country. Nor, on the other hand, will we refuse to exact from them all the *degradation* you yourselves have been pleased to prescribe. When they come from Africa, as you say, they shall be 'articles'—'taxed,' 'dutied,' and 'priced,' like all 'other imports.' When they fly from your service, cost the nation what it may, from any foot of her soil—by her military arm, if necessary—they shall be delivered up to him to whom his service is 'justly' 'due.' Should any man dispute your right of service, our courts shall stand by the Constitution, and pronounce the slave the property of his master. And finally, should that slave ever venture to rise up against you, the strong arm of the nation shall shoot him down at your feet, but he shall be subdued to your just dominion. Yes! all this will we do. Come, now! let us shake hands in an honorable, fraternal national covenant." The compact is made. But the moment the Northern man comes to officiate as *interpreter*, his construction destroys his contract! How changed his language and tone! "Now that we have constitutionally anchored you in the Union, you must allow us to say, we hate your institution, and can never fraternize with you fully until you abandon it. We claim unrestrained liberty to denounce and disgrace it on every hand; nor shall we ever cease our obloquy and opposition until we degrade and drive it from the free soil of our country." Our sketch is boldly drawn, we acknowledge; but we need hardly say, that any such construction of our national Constitution as warrants either an *abusive* or an *obstructive* intermeddling with the subject of slavery, is a palpable destruction of its face and force. Clearly, protection of the principles and customs of slavery in language obliges to the protection of the principles and habits of slavery in practice. Where is the consistency of that man who says, "I will solemnly authorize you to hold man in slavery, but I will habitually castigate you for the rascality of the deed. By all the power of the nation, judicial and military, I will assuredly return to you your flying slave; but I will spit upon the baseness that demands the rendition"? We hold, therefore, that the guarantees of the Constitution, in themselves considered, demand of the North that she secure to the South such a peaceful carrying out of her peculiar state of society as shall never be disturbed, either by provoking defamation or practical interruption. * * * * *

Can a reasonable man pretend to deny that the South sought and the North granted constitutional protection of her great natural rights? If the great personal rights of the South were *not* shielded by the guarantees of the Constitution, of what use were they? If they were not framed and proffered for this purpose, how came the South to accept them? If, on the contrary, they did cover the great natural rights of the South, and were framed and offered for this express purpose, then the North covenanted, by all the sacred authorities of the Constitution of the country, that they, and those who should represent them through the following generations, while the government stands, would see to it that the South should not be harassed, disturbed [illegible] while legitimately sustaining the institution of her fathers, but that her valuable rights of character, courtesy, property and happiness, should be duly guaranteed under the wing of the Union. Is not this argument irrefragably sealed by that great principle of interpretation pertinent to all language, and especially to that of contracts, viz.: that words are to be interpreted as bearing *the sense* in which the speaker knows that the party addressed understands them? Did not the North know that, by her constitutional guarantees, the South would expect from her an honorable and a peaceable Union, although she brought her institution of slavery with her? * * *

This whole controversy between the North and the South, we apprehend, may be shut up within a very narrow compass. Either slavery *is* such an institution as may be virtuously tolerated in its American circumstances, or it is *not*. If slavery may be justifiably tolerated, then the covenant of the Constitution binds you, and you must cease your encroachments upon its guarantees, or be a guilty man. If you feel that you cannot consent to throw down the weapons of your abusive warfare upon the institution, then in conscience and in honor one only course is yours. Come squarely up to the Southern man, and say to him, '*My fathers made a covenant for me which I cannot carry out. You must reconstruct the government to meet my scruples, or I must beg leave to give up my part in it, and retire from the Union.*' This is the one only honest course for a Northern man. To remain in the Union, and abuse slavery and slaveholders as you do, is to avail yourself of the commercial privileges of the government, and pay nothing for them. It is to withdraw your capital from the firm, but insist upon your share of the profits. It is to take the specified government protection for your *own* rights, but deny *me* the specified government protection for *mine*. Settle this question:—*Is a man bound by his word? Are covenants to be kept?* And when you do this, you settle our national controversy. But national hope begins to sink just here—the violent anti-slavery man *never studies his position*. He plants the soles of his feet upon the most sacred right ever sealed between man and man, and draws his sword upon the proprietor. What a pulpit this from which to preach "The encroachments of the South!" "The wrongs of the North!" This man never *goes by the reins, never feels his check!* If he must curse slavery, let him wheel to the right-about, and go North, and begin with his fathers for making such a Constitution. In rectitude, surely he cannot take a single step *to the South*. Bitted, and curbed, and reined up, held back by the strong arm of the gov-[illegible] beginning to end. My friend, *regularly dissolve your contract, or go by it.* Never open your mouth to blame another, if you have to break a covenant by breaking silence.

Selections.

WM. H. SEWARD, THE COMPROMISER.

Extracts from a pamphlet, entitled "THE STRUGGLE OF THE HOUR: A Discourse delivered at the Paine Celebration in Cincinnati, January 29, 1861." By Orson S. Murray.

We come now to Senator Seward's 12th of January speech, shadowing forth the policy of the incoming administration, to be under his premiership.

Whatever Senator Seward may think he has done, or may be thought to have done, at defining, his defence is that of an able, eloquent, winning lawyer, managing a desperate case. He is badly defined, and worse defended. Has made a bad use of good English. With fine rhetoric, flowing periods, and captivating intellectual display, he has done infamous work. To all the senseless sound that went before, he has added the most insulting sophistry—acting the part of a subtle, sold-out magician. If the people can longer submit to such insulting treatment, it is because they have already too long been under downward manipulations in the hands of such magicians, in Church and in State. * * * *

The cool effrontery with which it is for the ten thousandth time asserted that the Constitution leaves slavery "exclusively" in the "care" of the States where it exists, is an imposture not to be submitted to. The sole and simple fact that I am now appealing to the North to absolve themselves from *care* of slavery, will subject me to the charge of disloyalty to the Constitution, from Seward and all his sympathizers. The property votes constitute a balance of power, bringing us into all manner of servility in caring for slavery; besides the direct provisions making us its protectors. It is only because the Constitution humbles the Senator himself into servility to Southern dictation, that he make such shameful admissions. There is in it pitiable lack of self-respect belonging to an upright man.

The modesty manifested in words is commendable, when he discards the idea "that the Union is to be saved by anybody in particular;" and when he avows that "we must be content to lead when he can, and to follow when we cannot lead." But whoever will carefully examine his speech at the dinner of the New England Society, at the Astor House, noticing his high glee, his irrepressible good feeling, his unbounded joyousness, while hinting at an interview which had just taken place between him and Thurlow Weed, during Weed's return from Illinois, where he had been negotiating the Premiership for Seward,—observing with what perfect confidence Seward spoke of what could now be done in about sixty days, to save the Union,—his utter unconcern as to any dangerous condition of the machinery,—his cool and quiet assurance that it only needed a skillful "engineer to look into the engine, and see where the gudgeon is worn out, and see that the main wheel is kept in motion;" and then the heralding, some days in advance, of his speech in the Senate, to be looked forward to as salvation in store for the Union—an utterance beforehand from the mouth that is to give utterance for the incoming administration; and finally the speech itself throughout, so exactly in accordance with all this that had gone before—winding up with his proposal to have the Constitution altered and made unalterable, for the benefit of slavery—having previously put in his proposal to have two railroads across the Rocky Mountains; I say, whoever will carefully put all this together, may see plainly enough who it is Wm. H. Seward intends shall be chief engineer for eight years to come, including conductorship for the latter half of the term.

Again:—

"Has the Federal Government become tyrannical or oppressive, or even rigorous or unsound? Has the Constitution lost its spirit, and all at once collapsed into a lifeless letter? No; the Federal Government smiles more benignantly, and works to-day more beneficently, than ever."

Under all the attending circumstances, who else could say this but an arch traitor to freedom, poising himself complacently, with bribes in one pocket received, and bribes in the other pocket to be imparted—the bargain and arrangement already made and consummated—only a little time being necessary to get along with it, for the sake of appearances? In his Astor House speech, he only wanted time to "mollify passions and prejudices"—passions and prejudices that had been created by the election of Lincoln. It is fair to interpret what he then said in the Astor House, by what he was now saying and doing in the Senate—surrendering, selling out the North to the South. How else were the passions and prejudices of the South to be mollified? In this way he knew they could be mollified. In this way he was mollifying them. Hence his complacency. When and where others saw impending storm, all to him was fair weather. "The Federal Government was smiling more benignantly and working more beneficently than ever." At that very moment, when this astounding falsehood was falling from his lips, treason was rampant at the Federal capital, and raging the whole length of the Southern coast; and had been, for several days. Senators then standing on the floor with him, together with the President and a part of his Cabinet, would have been in irons, or in halters, before that time, if there had been any Federal Government in existence. There was no such government in existence. There *is* no such government in existence. There *will be* no such government in existence, while slavery exists and the Union exists. South Carolina reigns, and *will* reign, while the counsels of such conciliators of traitors are listened to. The mockery, under the name of Federal Government, is only a bought-up mob, to assassinate philanthropists and intimidate all the friends of freedom. Stripes and stars are humbug. The rattlesnake is the reality that has charmed Premier Seward, [read, in his Astor House speech, his love for the people who have lifted up this ensign,] and through him the dupes of his policy. He is not the first magician who has "lifted up a serpent" to charm the people. [Thus much more for taste, under the teachings and tendencies of sacred literature.] Unmask the monster, then. Down with the stripes and the stars; and let the serpent be seen on the Federal capitol. For it is surely there, while William H. Seward,

"The false dissembler unperceived,"

the traitor of all the traitors, holds sway. In the prostitute hands of this "arch enemy," the folds of the fascinating old emblem are used to hide the proportions of the venomous reptile, thus made more deadly dangerous.

Once more:—

"[illegible] thing else is and ought to be—Republicanism, Democracy, every other political name and thing; all are subordinate—and they ought to disappear in the presence of the great question of Union. So far as I am concerned, it shall be so."

Here it is all out. This goes with the rest, and finishes up. Republicanism, in the hands of William H. Seward, is to be sold for Southern favor; and with it "everything else." Much noise has been made, for many years past, at great expense of time, money, morals and intellect, to drum up a party to displace Democracy, so styling itself—a thing alleged, by the rising party, to be a political engine in the service of slavery. But as soon as their mockery of what *should* be the sublime, sacred work of voting is done, making Abraham Lincoln conductor, and William H. Seward engineer, the engineer declares at once that, so far as he is concerned, the machine shall have the gudgeons fixed up, new pins put in, a perpetual motion attachment provided, and thus be made to "go on stronger than ever," and all in the same service.

When he says "everything is to be subordinate to Union," it might, by straining a little, be brought under the definition of one of Hugh Blair's tropes, which he calls synecdoche—the whole being put for a part. He don't mean what he says. He is "cunning and insincere" again, just as he has been all the while throughout. He means only that such inconsequential things as "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," and other like "abstract questions," are to be subordinate. Of course he don't mean the all-important, all-absorbing matter of slavery. *That* is exactly *equal* to the Union; and the Union is exactly equal to *that*. They are identical, in interest, in principle, in value. Seriously—there is not the slightest intimation, from the beginning to the end of this advance-premier-performance, that slavery is to be in the least subordinate to the Union, any more than that the Union is to be subordinate to slavery. In fact, when we go back, and go over his work, it appears, on the whole, that the Union *is* to be subordinate to slavery. When he had said, "everything else is to be subordinate to the Union," if he had gone on through, and spoken sincerely all his sentiment, he would have added, "and the Union subordinate to slavery." Certainly he would. Because he made the Union to be the "guarantee" against the rising, uncompromising hostility to slavery which is pervading the world. Slavery first, Union next, everything else afterwards. Life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness, and all their concomitants, are to be subordinate to slavery. Such is [illegible] the Union [illegible] out by this sage statesman, this mild, modest man, for eight years to come.

Finally:—

"The different forms of labor, if slavery were not perverted to purposes of political ambition, need not constitute an element of strife in the Confederacy."

So, all there is of this difficulty between the North and the South is only a "*perversion* of slavery to the purposes of political ambition." Slavery *unperverted*—the genuine article—is no bad thing at all—"constitutes no element of strife." A "form of labor," in which the laborers are owned by the capitalist; are his "money;" are to be bartered as bank-stock—sold at auction; are not known in law as conjugal companions, as parents or children; have no protection of law for limb, life or chastity; can never, during their whole lives, for a moment, be in possession of themselves—do one single act as their own, for themselves, self-directed, self-controlled,—but all under the bidding of others; forbidden letters, forbidden intellectual culture, forbidden speech, forbidden testimony; herded like cattle and swine, and like those animals used to breed for the benefit of their proprietors:—a "form of labor" that educates the employers thus to treat the employed,—and furthermore, to treat all other laborers as much as possible in subserviency to these conditions,—requiring Northern laborers to be sentinels and life-guards for the Southern proprietors, with muskets and bayonets at the breasts of their fellow victims, and cowhides and clubs over their own dishonored heads:—all this, and this not half the description of it all, "constitutes no element of strife," in the estimation of William H. Seward, who sometime talked of an "irrepressible conflict." Can it be possible that any considerable number can have been so blinded and dementated by the back-and-forth magic-manipulations of this juggler, as not to perceive that *his* is the "perversion to purposes of political ambition"—and that the perversion consists in an effort, with "cunning and insincerity," to make slavery acceptable to freemen, and to reduce freemen to the most despicable slavery?

Over and above the wrong and ruin of slavery to its immediate victims, it is crime enough and curse enough, considered only in its effects in demoralizing and brutalizing the slaveholders,—not only the slaveholders proper, with chain and whip in hand, but their aids, from lowest to highest of them—from ignorant foreigners as well as ignorant natives, taught to speak and spell negro with two g's, to William H. Seward, who teaches that the "difference" between the condition of slaves North and the slaves South is not worth having any "strife" about. Is it that he is pouring contempt on labor North, putting it down so very near on a level with labor South; or is it that he is outraging truth and decency, in an endeavor to dignify the "form of labor." South, with a view to convincing laborers North that such are the conditions they are worthy to be in so very near proximity with—to be so closely associated with—to be so positively identified with? Whether it be this or that, he stands equally condemned—equally the demoralized, brutalized subject of the system. Whether he will do the part of the perjurer, in betraying and thrusting down the laborer North to the condition of the laborer South, or the part of the audacious liar, in denying that the laborers South are in a condition that laborers North would sooner spill their last drop of blood than submit to—whether he will degrade free-labor by dignifying slave-labor, or dignify slave-labor by degrading free-labor—he is equally the enemy of the interests of freemen—has treated free-laborers with insufferable indignity.

A PURE DESPOTISM.

It may be well for journals like the Albany *Argus* and *Journal of Commerce*, who are playing the role of *claquers* for the secession drama, to consider seriously what they are doing. It may be well for them to scrutinize somewhat closely the character of the entertainment of which they appear to be so insanely enamored. Do these unscrupulous prints really desire the overthrow of that noble old government under which the country has so wonderfully prospered for the past eighty years, and the rearing on its ruins of a power whose central idea is that of a half-effete and repulsive despotism? Do they desire to see the great chart of our American liberties destroyed, and the reconstruction of our political system on the basis indicated by the Vice President of the "Confederate States," in the following extract from his late speech:—

"The foundations of our new Government are laid, its *corner-stone rests, upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and normal condition.* This, our new Government, is the first in the history of the world based upon this great physical, philosophical and moral truth."

Are these apologists for treason and anarchy prepared to see such repulsive dogmas as these adopted as the future ground-work of our national edifice? Do they *really* desire that the regime of Jeff. Davis and his fellow-conspirators should be extended over this great and free country? Do they honestly wish to see the code of the slave-driver made the "law of the land, and the destinies of the country placed in the hands of patriots of the Rhett and Yancey school"? Do they seriously desire—as they pretend—that a Southern army shall march upon the Capital, seize upon that sanctuary of the Federal Power, and elect a fire-eating President to the dignity of ruler of the Republic?

The monstrous character of this Southern raid upon the liberties of the people is no longer to be disguised. It cannot be defended—it cannot be glossed over—it cannot be apologized for—except by men who are traitors at heart. It is nothing less than a desperate assault upon free institutions. It has all the elements of a pure despotism. It derives its inspiration from the darkest periods of human history. It sets at defiance the fundamental principles of rational freedom. It seeks to erect on this Western Continent a tyranny beside which the rule of the Czar and the Sultan is liberalism itself. In the words of Mr. Stephens, "its corner-stone" rests upon the right of one man to make his brother a chattel.

It is a despotism that sets at defiance the will of the people. While professedly the oppressor of the black, it ignores the rights of the white. It laughs to scorn the dogma that government derives its power from "the consent of the governed." This Southern revolution, so far from being a popular uprising, is the creature of men who hate and despise the masses. It is so essentially a conspiracy against the popular will, that it dares not trust itself even at the ballot-box. In only one of the seven seceded States has the question of the ratification of the Constitution been submitted to a vote of the electors!

The desperate adventurers who lead the rebellion rely upon the appliances of tyranny for success. They hope to coerce an acquiescence in their schemes by the stern argument of *force*. The New [illegible] as an agent for driving doubting States into the crime of secession. De Bow's *Review*, the *philosophical* organ of the rebels, holds forth the following suggestive language:—

"*All Government begins with usurpation and is sustained by force.* Nature puts the ruling elements uppermost, and the masses below, and subject to those elements. Less than this is not a government. The right to govern resides with a very small minority; and the duty to obey is inherent in the great mass of mankind."

The spirit that animates the Southern rebellion is brutal. It smacks of the days of Robespierre and the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. It manifests itself in a "reign of terror" the most obnoxious and the most intolerable. It breaks out in threats to deluge Northern soil with the blood of slaughtered freemen. It explodes in demoniac fury in papers like the Oxford (Miss.) *Intelligencer*, which protests against "Tennessee entering the Southern Confederacy, unless she will *produce the scalps of* Senator Johnson and Representative Etheridge as an evidence of her sincerity." It finds expression in threats to assassinate Gen. Scott, and burn Mr. Lincoln at the stake.

And it is for such a movement as this that Northern Democrats express sympathy and admiration! It is with such an atrocious libel upon civilization as this, they threaten to affiliate!—*Utica Herald.*

NEGROES ARE PERSONS. A Montgomery correspondent of the Charleston *Mercury* says:—

"On account of the small size of the future House of Representatives of the Confederate States under the old apportionment, it is not unlikely that it will be altered so as to afford a larger and more efficient body. It is to be hoped that a full representation *will be given to negroes as persons*, which would partially remedy the evil of too small a house."

FREE NEGROES OF THE WEST INDIES.

A meeting was held in London, February 20th—Mr. C. Buxton, M. P., in the chair—to receive a report from Messrs. Underhill and Brown, a deputation sent to the West Indies by the Baptist Missionary Society to inquire into the condition of the peasantry there. From a report in the London *Daily News* of Mr. Underhill's remarks, we copy as follows:—

"Mr. Underhill, having explained that, in consequence of the conflicting statements made in this country, as to the condition of the West India Colonies, as resulting from the abolition of slavery, he and his colleague had been deputed to make personal inquiries as to the condition of Jamaica, and had in carrying out their inquiries occupied many months, proceeded to state what they had ascertained in the course of their mission. He admitted that Jamaica was not so prosperous as Trinidad, Barbadoes, and some others of the West India Islands, but denied that its inferior position was owing to emancipation. Jamaica was yet in a transition state; its social arrangements had been formed for the purpose of cultivation by slave labor, and the prejudices of the people were opposed to making the necessary alterations. Those changes, however, were now in progress, a middle class of artisans and shopkeepers was springing up, and there was every prospect of a rapid improvement. The ruin of the planters, of which so much has been said, was owing, not to emancipation, but extravagance and mismanagement, by which the properties had become so heavily incumbered that they could not be worked with profit. There was no deficiency of labor, as was proved, not only by the large number of laborers as compared with the entire population, but by the fact that the rate of wages was not rising, but falling. Amongst other causes, he enumerated as having contributed to the difficulties of the sugar-growers, was the refusal of the Legislature to adopt the more liberal immigration laws which Barbadoes acted upon immediately after emancipation—and principally the competition of other sugar-growing countries when the sugar duties were equalized. He and his colleagues had travelled through the island, but had never seen a single estate which had been abandoned for want of labor; but the fact was that the negro was now a competitor with the planter for his own labor, and naturally served himself first.

With regard to the negro peasant class, the beneficial effect of the act of emancipation was complete. They no doubt at first left the estates in large numbers, but that was principally owing to the treatment they received from the old planters, who had now either died out or left the island. He denied that the negroes of Jamaica were a lazy, indolent race; on the contrary, they were industrious and careful, and he added that, so far from their being mere squatters upon the land, which means men settling down upon a place to which they had no title—a thing which was impossible in Jamaica—three-eighths of the cultivated land in the island had been acquired by their own industry since emancipation, and there was scarcely a family that did not keep a horse or a mule. The value of the land they had thus become possessed of was upwards of a million sterling, in addition to which they had built and furnished comfortable, and, in some instances, very genteel houses. He estimated, besides, that there were not less than 5,000 sugar-mills—rude and small ones, he admitted—possessed and worked by the negro peasantry, who were now actively engaged on their own account in the culture and manufacture of sugar. He added, too, that they were generally a sober and moral class of people. He calculated that the entire property in land, houses, horses, implements, clothes, savings-banks' deposits, (upwards of £40,000,) and other articles, was worth not less than £2,300,000, all acquired since emancipation. The exports of Jamaica averaged £1,057,000 per annum, chiefly produce raised by negroes; and he believed the produce of their industry altogether was about two millions and a quarter, or two millions and a half a year.

The speaker quoted various statistics, and pointed out the number of towns, villages and markets which were springing up all over the island, as marking the improved condition of the negro people; and as showing the religious feeling of these people, he stated that they had built 220 chapels, and numbered 53,000 communicants, or about one-fourth of the entire community. All this progress had been made without Government aid, and under a system of taxation by no means favorable to the negro. He believed the tide of difficulty in Jamaica had turned, and there was every prospect that its future under freedom would be far more prosperous than its past had been under slavery."

AN ANCIENT AND A MODERN COMPROMISE.

A Discourse by Rev. M. D. Conway, delivered in the First Congregational Church, Cincinnati, March 21, 1861.

We hear much, now-a-days, of compromises. We are called on, in the name of patriotism, to remember that the Constitution of our country was a compromise. Unfortunately it was, and to-day we reap the harvest of such seed; to-day we may read, unless secession has robbed us of self-possession, that those who begin with the compromise of Principle have given themselves to the toils of a glittering, bright-eyed, golden-scaled serpent, which must inevitably crush them at last. See, before you, Americans! the consequences of a compromise proposed and accepted, in the weakness, dissolution and death whereinto the nation is plunged from the graceful eddies and whirls of compromise!

Now let us turn into the past, and consider an instance and lesson of another kind; an instance of a compromise proposed and rejected, and the consequences of the same.

Here is the *compromise proposed*:—

"The Devil taketh him into an exceeding high mountain, and showeth him all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them; and saith unto him, all these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me!"

And here is the *compromise rejected*:—

"Then said Jesus, 'Get thee behind me, Satan.'"

And finally, here are the *consequences*:—

"Then the Devil leaveth him, and behold angels came and ministered unto him."

My friends, it is only in crystals that one sees plainly any mingled substance which is interior. You cannot see a speck of dirt in the heart of a pebble, but you can see it clearly in the heart of a pure crystal. It is so with the evil at the heart of this country. The wrongs which for ages lay unobserved in the stony heart of absolutism and ignorance, preserved now in the centre of a Republic, discolor all the rays shining through it. Our faith and courage in these times will be in proportion to our realization of the fact, that our failure is a sign not of weakness so much as of strength. Were the age meaner, its claim would not be, as it is now, beyond the ordinary satisfaction of circumstances. Had the evil which afflicts us a tongue, it would say: "Surely you have grown very sophisticated and fastidious. Read your school-histories over again, and see what age was exempt from injustice and violence, war and slavery. Are you not making, in this generation, a great deal of noise over evil that your ancestors sat very quietly under?" Certainly we are. We stand upon our advantage as proudly as did the young Goethe, of whom it is related that, when six years old, he plagued his mother with questions as to whether the stars would perform for him all that, according to some fortune-teller, they had promised at his birth. "Why," said the mother, "must you have the assistance of the stars, when other people get on very well without?" To this the terrible child replied: "But I am not to be satisfied with what does for other people." So the humblest man in Christendom to-day puts his foot upon such a Government as Jesus and Paul rested quietly under; so the poorest American is too high to be satisfied with what suits an Austrian. Centuries of rain and sunshine are not so wasted on the vineyard of God, where nations of men climb to clusters. Therefore, although the country was never so disturbed before in its immediate interests, it was never so high as now. This sundering of a great Confederacy—this panic, fallen upon all our material interests—this division of the large Church bodies—all testify gloriously how large a price a young nation is willing to pay for a principle. Never more fitly could it be called a chosen people of God than now, when it says, "Yes, we are ready to press out even into a forty-years wilderness, following the guiding Pillar of Liberty, whether it turn to us its fiery or its clouded side!" May we not even call it the Messias of Nations, as it stands out in the wilderness, hungry as ever for wealth and plenty, but obeying the spirit which leads it to the trial of its faith in justice and liberty?

This is no metaphor, my brothers: it is a momentous reality. America is to-day in the wilderness of temptation, and beside us is the tempter.

Up into the mountain the tempter leads us—the exceeding high mountain of our national greatness and pride. From that apex, ready to crumble under our feet, how keenly the kingdoms of this world and their glories strike the senses! On one side, the kingdom of political unity; on another, the kingdom of cotton; near by, the realms of trade; and there, the kingdom of ecclesiastical power. The tempter never slumbers so long as God is awake. "What is it," he whispers, "that divides our nation? What is it that prevents cotton from [illegible] from the windows of [illegible]ade? What is it that sunders every Church? It is your hatred of African Slavery. It is your love of freedom. Only give over these; only consent to the fetter on the limbs of the black man; and see, all these kingdoms are yours, with all their glories! See, the nation is one again: the coffer is full. The Church's wounds are healed so soon as Northern and Southern Christians consent to kneel around a common altar, there to eat the broken body and drink the shed blood of the African race. All these shall be yours," says the tempter, "if only ye will turn from the shrine of Liberty, and worship Slavery; and you may call your idol patriotism, union, concession, compromise, fraternal feeling, peace, or any other fine name you please."

I hold in my hand a pamphlet, which I learn is having a considerable circulation in this city and State, entitled—"THE UNION: HOW SHALL IT BE RECONSTRUCTED AND SAVED? A LETTER TO THE PUBLIC. By Sabin Hough, of Cincinnati, Ohio." I intend to allude to it to some extent, because it is the only publication I have ever seen which embodies in one expression every mean and evil thing that was ever said to persuade men to surrender manhood, and consecrate themselves to injustice. A writer in Milwaukee has said that he cannot conceive how it could have been written, except under some infatuation from the Devil; and I freely admit that it is the first strong argument I have ever met with for the personal existence of that celebrated potentate, whose existence I have long thought mythical.

As we gather from this letter, its author is a reverend. Of course he is. He is a native of New England, and has lived always in the free States. Of course, again. Then he is a minister of the New Church, and editor of its organ in the West; he brings us a new revelation from behind the vail. His God is a vast man; of whom Cuffee is a charcoal sketch. He is one who, when finding a man fallen among thieves, stripped and wounded, like the robbed and wronged slave, for example, believes that the oil and wine poured in should be such a comforting doctrine about robbers and wounds in general, that the man should crave a few more stabs for "the good of truth." I doubt not that if a hunted slave stood at his door, his humanest impulses, drugged by something he thinks religion, would lead him to console the fugitive with a copy of this pamphlet, and return him to the master, who would represent "the receptivity of good."

The pamphlet reviews several of the alleged causes of the trouble that is now upon the land, and [illegible] The personal liberty bills of the North have done much mischief in engendering hostile feelings; but they are a small part of the evil. How curious, by the way, it is, that so few hit on the only true way of abolishing those ugly personal liberty bills of the free States—namely: abolishing the personal slavery bills of the South! Both of these expurgations will have to take place together; if not on statute paper, yet in fact.

The Rev. Mr. Hough then goes on to say that it is not fear of servile insurrection on the part of the South that causes secession: "Any great or general uprising or revolt is," he says, "impossible, and no fears of any such catastrophe are entertained. As a general fact, a deep and strong attachment prevails between masters and servants, and there is a great unwillingness on either side to terminate the relation." This boundless affection of slaves for their masters, amounting almost to infatuation, is evident from the rarity of fugitives in New England and Canada; the scarcity of those who go about this city seeking to buy themselves or their families! (No doubt, however, this reverend never was nor will be approached by one.) Pity he should have spoiled this beautiful picture of mutual affection between master and slave, by forgetting it in the later assertion that the slave-owners "believe that these denunciations, coming as they often do to the ears of their servants, do them great injury, and compel a greater severity of restraint than would otherwise be needed." This would suggest that the links of affection, all along supposed to be somewhat golden, are fast becoming iron. Neither, says our interpreter, is the election of Mr. Lincoln the cause of this disturbance; "as well might you suppose that the broken fragments tossed about by a whirlwind are the cause of the storm." No, the key-note of the howling storm is for the first time touched "when we point to *the denunciation of slavery as a* —

This deadly blow," he adds, "aimed at the conscience and heart, is what threatens to break asunder this Union." Here we pause for a moment, refreshed by a breath of truth. This is the seat of the matter. We admit it without going through any of the pages in which our author seeks to prove that this charge against slavery as a sin comes down "not from a few voices, pulpits, presses or pens, but from large and small guns in thunders and whispers, from pulpits," &c., &c. I will quote in public only what I must of this pamphlet; for really, I have no ill-will to its author. Therefore, we admit that the ultimate cause of disunion in America is the voice of the civilized world thundered down from a hundred centuries, declaring human slavery a sin against God and man.

"This spirit, which delights in accusing the slaveholding people of this country, has grown up from a small beginning, grown rapidly, and attained huge dimensions. It has fierce eyes and long arms, large ears on one side and none on the other, and walks up and down through the land like a giant. It has found its way into the halls of our National Assembly, and by some magic process, opened avenues to the regions below. Through the opening thus made, large numbers of the people down there have come up to take a hand in managing the affairs of this nation."

You understand what "regions below" means? It means the hells, the order of infernals—a metaphor taken from the Museum on Sycamore street. It hints that Satan is now a member of the Cabinet. Sumner, we find, has theorized, and Beecher exhorted, and John Brown executed: and these three are a kind of unholy trinity, under whose inspiration an anti-slavery demon is enthroned in America. Whereupon the angelic South secedes.

The writer then grapples with the root of the trouble at once, taking the ground that slavery is not an evil at all, but on the contrary a good Christian institution. The statements made in this direction I will classify under the heads—first, untruths; second, fatuities.

1. *Untruths.*

"Every conceivable experiment, designed to better their condition, in a state of release from direct supervision and control, has been tried, and thus far proved a failure. In every instance, they have deteriorated, and gone backward toward their former savage condition. Of course, we refer to general, not to specific or individual examples. A few, perhaps one in ten, of the American slaves, in the state now attained, might be safely trusted to provide for themselves and families; but even in these cases there would be danger, amounting to a strong probability, that the most of their children, after one or two generations, would go back to a condition much worse than servitude."

This is simply untrue. A colored beggar, except for help to get himself or his household free, is extremely rare. In this city, twenty suffering white families can be shown, for one colored—allowing for the disproportion in number. There are several colored families here that I can show any one, who came from the same place that I did in Virginia, and are doing very well here—much better than there, where their homes were among the very best in the State. Some years ago, I myself visited the chief cities of Canada, and their negro-quarters, and learned from their own lips, and those of the Mayors and the Governor, and from my own eyes, the utter falsity of the reports that the negroes were a suffering or retrogressive people in Canada—even there, where the climate might justify it. Let this writer go to the colored schools of this city, and the Sunday schools, to see his own slander of this race, and the effects of freedom on a second or third generation refuted.

Again,—

"The institution called slavery has been the means of developing the resources of the Southern country, and pouring into the treasuries of wealth and comfort larger and more abundant contributions than have been yielded from the soil of any other portion of the globe; and while doing this, the moral and physical condition of the negroes, as well as their numbers, have been rapidly increasing."

The untruth of this is self-evident. One hundred millions of unmined metals in Virginia; a dozen long, falling rivers, with not so many factories; half a State undrained and sickly—these tell how slavery, a garden-spot being given, "develops its resources."

Again,—

"It ought to be mentioned that there is, with many persons, an absurd misapprehension as to the real meaning of the legal terms which recognize slaves as property. The master owns only the labor of his servant, and that on rigid conditions, which the civil magistrate, who is his master, is not reluctant to enforce. The slave must have food and clothing, and, for his comfort, and must not be inhumanly treated. If sickness or misfortune befall them, and he becomes unable to labor, he has still a provision for life; not in the poor-house, but from his master's estate, till that is exhausted. The simple truth, in regard to this matter, after making allowance for many abuses and disorders that exist, but are rapidly diminishing, is, that the master owns, controls, and directs the labor of his servant, and gives him in return, as a general rule, a larger and better reward than he would obtain under any other conditions of life."

In noticing this, it is hard to refrain from using a much harsher term than "untruth." The cold-blooded and deliberate character of this misstatement can only be mitigated by presupposing an ignorance almost brutal. The Slave Codes are plain and public; they make, and must of necessity make, the slave a chattel. That is not my own property, which I cannot buy and sell and use as I please. True, a man cannot kill his slave with impunity, neither can he set his own house on fire; but the house can testify against him in court as much as the slave. Five hundred slaves on a plantation seeing a man maltreat, violate, or murder one of their number, would, in a court-room, by the laws of all the States, be no more than so many oxen which had witnessed the deed.

2. *Fatuities.* These are, for the most part, religious. In attempting to prove the divinity of slavery, our editor says:—

"The relation of master and servant has existed from the most remote periods of history. We mean just that relation in which service for life is owned, controlled and perpetuated. The abuses incidental to this relation, and the evils done in its name, were a hundred-fold greater than now, during the entire period in which the sacred Scriptures were written, and yet we find no command forbidding the relation itself. Many precepts recognize it, and guard against its abuses, or indicate what classes of persons may be held as servants, but no one passage intimates an absolute prohibition. Sins of every character are enumerated and forbidden, but this is not among them. If the Lord had intended us to regard and treat this relation as a sin against the ordinances of Heaven, some law to that effect would be found in His Word; some clear and specific law, which no one could misunderstand. Such is the case in regard to other sins. All who commit them know that they are disobeying the Commandments of God."

Coeval with slavery, and coextensive therewith in the time and country of Jesus and His Apostles, existed the institutions of polygamy and concubinage; the latter a legitimation of slavery always and everywhere. But you will look in vain through the New Testament for one word to show that a man should have only one wife. St. Paul writes a great deal about marriage and its laws; and his only limitation, as to numbers, is in the case of Bishops. A Bishop, he says, should be the husband of one wife. This rather implies that others might have more. Vainly will you look in the Bible for any rebuke of polygamy; vainly, also, for any rebuke of an absolute monarchy. Are we therefore to agree that they are right, and roll back the tide of civilization till the sharp black rocks of barbarism reappear? We expect no catalogue of crimes from Jesus. "Love God and man," points a rebuke at all. From this general method he sometimes departs, as when he guards his followers not to be masters—"For ye are all brothers." Also, he tells them, to take care and not be called *Rabbi, i. e.,* Reverend.

We are then reminded, in this pamphlet, of the example of Abraham. But why his slaveholding is a whit more respectable than his having concubines, or than his making out that his wife was only his sister, so that she might be more attractive to the king, and he safer through her shame, we are not informed.

We are then furnished with quotations from the ancient Hebrew slave codes. But why the old Jewish laws protecting slavery are more to be respected than those which inflicted the death penalty for marrying a foreigner, or picking up sticks on the Sabbath, we are not told. Suppose "man-servant" and "maid-servant" are mentioned, even in the Decalogue—so, also, in the same, a man's wife is called his property along with his ox and ass. Is that a sound "conjugal" idea? In that same Decalogue we are told that God is jealous, and visits the sins of fathers upon their children—which is to ascribe to Him a low, selfish passion, and also injustice. We are told therein that He made the earth in six days, which science refutes; and are bidden to keep the *seventh* day holy—a command which our Swedenborgian breaks every week.

Then in the New Testament, suppose Paul did return a fugitive slave; it only shows that there was already on him some of that moral scrofula which was afterward called religion in the Church. Nothing can be so irreligious as religion, when proselyting. So Paul circumcised people to please Jews. Is that Swedenborgian Christianity? He told slaves to remain slaves; so he told people they had better not marry. Will the Rev. New-Churchman accept both?

Having decided that slavery is just and divine, and that a slowness in the popular mind to perceive this, is the cause of all the trouble, our Herald proclaims a compromise. He says:—

"Here, then, is the remedy, the last and true one—*The Constitution must be so revised and amended as to permit, sanction and defend this institution in every State and Territory—in every spot and place that is guarded by the American flag.*"

"If," he continues, "a lady from the city of Covington, which is now in full view of my window"——

That is rather significant. Our modern Daniel opens his window toward the New Jerusalem over the Ohio, and worships the god he finds established over there by the laws of the Medes and Persians.

He has no taste for a higher law with a den of lions behind it. He need not have told us on what prospect his window looked; nor did we need the confessions which appeared in yesterday's *New Church Herald*, that this pamphlet was written in Wheeling, Va., printed at the expense of two gentlemen in that city, and circulated by a liberal donation from a gentleman in Baltimore. But we left that lady waiting. "If," he says, "a lady from Covington would come over here to visit a friend, [illegible] it, our laws would declare the servant under no obligation to return." [Here the fervent and mutual devotion attaching to owner and slave is again forgotten.] "Being thus brought over by her mistress, even for a single hour, all claims to her services would end. And this is but an example of the comity and neighborly regulations existing along this whole border, from the Atlantic coast westward." That word *neighborly* is suggestive. One once asked Jesus who was a man's neighbor; Jesus somehow made the neighbor to be any victim of oppression or wrong, and he who relieved him to be "neighborly." It seems that the Lord's later revelation through Swedenborg, (as interpreted by his herald here,) makes the oppressors the neighbors, and to defend their right to do what they please with the man, is to be neighborly. Poor, maltreated, wounded lady of Covington—so cruelly defrauded of the right to own, possess and hold body and soul another lady of Covington; of the right to sell her children; to chain and beat her in the streets of Cincinnati—behold the New Church Samaritan who pities you, and sets you on his own beast! "This state of things cannot remain, and should not, under a common Federal Government which claims to provide for the peace and welfare of all, according to the principles of justice, religion and equity." (!) He believes this plan and remedy feasible:—

"Let the people of the South tell their brethren of the North just what are the terms on which this Union, so important to them and to us, and to the interests of the whole civilized world, may be reconstructed and saved; and if the terms involve nothing more unjust or severe than the recognition, legalization and protection of the institution of slavery, the conditions will be complied with so soon as the question shall be opened up and understood in all its relations and bearings. A majority of the Northern people will be ready to apply the remedy here proposed, so soon as the question is brought to a stern and positive issue, the reasons and advantages fully explained, and the conviction secured that this or separation is the only alternative."

Alas! how well "that old serpent" knows the ugly proverb:—*All men have their price!* God help the people to give it the lie!

"That Northern men, when removed from the influences of fanaticism, bigotry and ignorance, have no *constitutional* objections to slavery, is evident from the fact that almost every one who removes South becomes an owner of slaves, if he has money to buy them. These men are, however, apt to be hard masters, from not having learned how to treat servants. This knowledge will be more rapidly gained when these unrighteous and oppressive restrictions are removed from the institution, and it is permitted to go wherever it pleases.

On the ground here proposed, the States that have gone out can return with no loss of honor, and all will be most happy to welcome them back.

Here is the true remedy. In this way the progress of dissolution may be arrested at once, the Union reconstructed and saved, and this long-agitated question being settled, at last, the whole world will breathe more freely and be happier."

Here I close the review of this pamphlet, which calls on America to say:—"Get thee before me, slavery! Thee I will worship—thee I will serve!" I reserve for another Sunday the consideration of how Jesus dealt with a compromise, and the momentous result of it. It is true, as this pamphlet affirms, that the crisis has come when this nation must bow down to slavery, or, as a nation, rise like Gabriel, with his foot upon the fiend's neck. This is one solution—consistent, clear, as always is the logic of Lucifer.

[*Tearing the pamphlet in two.*—Reporter.]

So may every nation or State founded on such principles, be torn and scattered before the breath of supreme and inviolable justice!

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, APRIL 19, 1861.

TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN A. S. SOCIETY.

The Twenty-Seventh Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society will be held in the Church of the Puritans, (Dr. Cheever's,) in the city of New York, on Tuesday, May 7, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M. In the evening, another public meeting will be held in the Cooper Institute, commencing at half-past 7 o'clock.

The Society will meet, for business purposes only, in the Lecture Room of the Church of the Puritans, at 3½, P. M. on Tuesday, and at 10 A. M. Wednesday.

The object of this Society is still,—as at its formation,—the immediate and total abolition of slavery wherever existing on the American soil, because of its inherent sinfulness, immorality, oppression, and barbarity, and its utter repugnance to all the precepts of the Gospel, and all the principles of genuine Democracy; its measures are still the same,—peaceful, moral, rational, legal, constitutional; its instrumentalities are the same,—the pen, the press, the lecturing field, tracts and other publications, &c., &c., disseminating light and knowledge in regard to the tyrannical power claimed, possessed and exercised by slaveholders, the actual condition of their miserable victims, and the guilty complicity of the people of the North, religiously, politically, governmentally, with those who "trade in slaves and the souls of men"; its spirit is still the same,—long-suffering, patient, hopeful, impartial, benevolent alike to the oppressor and the oppressed, zealously intent on "promoting the general welfare and securing the blessings of liberty" universally, "knowing no East, no West, no North, no South," but embracing the whole country in its charitable and humane concern, and conflicting with nothing just, honest, noble and Christian in sentiment, practice or tendency.

Let unusual efforts be made by the members and friends of the Society to be present at the approaching anniversary, that there may be no lack of wise counsel and efficient coöperation with reference to the consummation of its great purpose.

In behalf of the Executive Committee,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, *President.*

Wendell Phillips, Charles C. Burleigh, } *Secretaries.*

☞ The New York (City) Anti-Slavery Society will hold its anniversary in the Cooper Institute on WEDNESDAY evening, May 8th. Addresses by Wendell Phillips and Theodore Tilton. Admittance 10 cents, to defray expenses.

SOUTHERN SECESSIONISTS AND NORTHERN DISUNIONISTS.

We have freely denounced the Southern secessionists as guilty of the basest perfidy and the blackest treason; yet, for the last twenty years, we have been zealously seeking a dissolution of the Union. Wherein, then, do we find their condemnation, and our own justification? We answer—

The right of a State to secede from the Union, *ad libitum*, "for no reason," (as some maintain,) is a doctrine never advocated by us, or by the Anti-Slavery Society. We are disunionists on very different grounds.

In adopting their National Constitution, the people of the United States made no provision for any such secession, and recognized no such right. In providing a legal and popular method for the amendment of that instrument, to any extent, in accordance with the democratic theory, they evidently believed the Union would continue "one and indivisible" to the latest posterity. They did not make it to be dissolved, but to be perpetuated. "The Constitution," says Mr. Webster, "does not provide for events which must be preceded by its own destruction. Secession, therefore, since it must bring these consequences with it, is revolutionary." And he adds:—

"The State Constitutions are established by the people of the States. This Constitution is established by the people of all the States. How, then, can a State secede? How can a State undo what the whole people have done? How can she absolve her citizens from their obedience to the laws of the United States? How can she annul their obligations and oaths? How can the members of her legislature renounce their own oaths? Secession, as a *revolutionary right*, [illegible] in civil commotions, and asserted at the head of armies, I can understand it. But as a practical right, existing under the Constitution, and in conformity with its provisions, it seems to me to be nothing but a plain absurdity; for it supposes resistance to government, under the authority of government itself; it supposes dismemberment, without violating the principles of union; it supposes opposition to law, without crime; it supposes the violation of oaths, without responsibility; it supposes the total overthrow of government, without revolution."

If, then, no State has a right to secede "without cause," has it a right to secede for any cause? The answer to this is,—not a constitutional right, (for, as we have said, no provision is made for secession, under any pretext whatever,) but, it may be, a revolutionary right, for the cause set forth in the Declaration of Independence.

Let us see, therefore, whether those States which have seceded from the Union find any justification in history, reason, or the right of rebellion or revolution, for the course which they have pursued. May they take for their defence, on patriotic grounds, the motto, "Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God"—or, on Christian grounds, the text, "We ought to obey God rather than man"? If they may, then the world will give them an applauding verdict; if they may not, then it will doom them to everlasting infamy.

What are the plain, undeniable facts?

1. The people of the revolted States gave their sanction to the Constitution, in common with the people of the United States. They made it "the supreme law of the land, anything in any State Constitution, or in the laws of any State, to the contrary notwithstanding." They solemnly agreed to be governed by it. It is to be specially remembered that the two States which have raised hostile weapons to strike down the Constitution,—namely, South Carolina and Georgia,—were those which imperatively dictated its terms, and shaped it at the beginning to suit themselves, refusing to be a portion of the Union, unless the pro-slavery guarantees they demanded were amply secured. Now they rebel against the very form of government they prescribed, and trample under their feet the instrument they agreed to uphold! For—

2. The Constitution remains unchanged to this hour, and every one of its pro-slavery guarantees has been fulfilled to the letter.

3. The South, from the adoption of that instrument up to the hour of secession, has always had a controlling influence in shaping the policy and ruling the destiny of the nation. She has had the "lion's share" of office and emolument in every department of the government, whether at home or abroad, and the control of the army, navy, and treasury, so as to advance her own interests at the expense of every other section of the country. She has held absolute mastery over the North, by intimidation, violence, political corruption, and fraud. "There *is* no North," said Mr. Webster, and he spoke truly. Hence—

4. The South has rent the Union asunder without being able to show a bruise or a scratch, or an outrage of any kind. She may not, therefore, take refuge in the example of our revolutionary fathers, nor quote in her defence the doctrines laid down by them in the Declaration of Independence; for they neither assisted in the formation of the British government, nor had any share in its administration, being deprived of all representation, and subjected to injuries and outrages as intolerable as they were inexcusable. Under such circumstances, and with reference to strictly parallel cases, well might they affirm it to be among self-evident truths, "that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, [to wit, "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,"] it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness." But, even in such an extremity, they justified no excess, and advocated nothing precipitate. "Prudence indeed will dictate," they said, "that governments, long established, should not be changed for light and transient causes"—much less for no causes at all! It is only "when *a long train of abuses and usurpations*, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces A DESIGN TO REDUCE THEM UNDER ABSOLUTE DESPOTISM," that it is the right and the duty of the people to "throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security." How carefully considered and how guardedly expressed were their words! What dignity and circumspection characterised all their proceedings! If they could audibly speak from their graves, would they not indignantly resent the imputation that, in their sacred charter of revolution, the Southern traitors and buccaneers may find their warrant for overthrowing the Union, and forming an independent confederacy of their own? Of what "long train of abuses and usurpations" has the South to complain? Where has there been a wish or design evinced to reduce her "under absolute despotism," or to do anything injurious to her interest or welfare? The wrong, the violence, the usurpation, the tyranny, have all been on her side, and against the long-suffering, calculating and patient North. Hers is the position of the apostate angels, and in the words of the arch-fiend she exclaims—

———— "but of this be sure,
To do aught good never will be our task,
But ever to do ill our sole delight,
As being the contrary to his high will
Whom we resist. If, then, his providence
Out of our evil seek to bring forth good,
Our labor must be to prevent that end,
And out of good still to find means of evil;
Which ofttimes may succeed, so as perhaps
Shall grieve him, if I fail not, and disturb
His inmost counsels from their destined aim.
Let us not slip the occasion, whether scorn
Or satiate fury yield it from our foe; . . .
And, reassembling our afflicted Powers,
Consult how we may henceforth most offend
Our enemy; our own loss how repair;
How overcome this dire calamity;
What reinforcement we may gain from hope;
If not, what resolution from despair. . . .
Farthest from him is best. Hail, horrors! hail,
Infernal world! And thou, profoundest hell,
Receive thy new possessor! one who brings
A mind not to be changed by place or time:
Here we may reign secure, and, in my choice,
To reign is worth ambition, though in hell:
Better to reign in hell than serve in heaven!"

If the secessionists cannot find even the shadow of an excuse for their revolt, either in the Constitution which they helped to frame and adopt, and which they have ever been eager exclusively to administer, or in the Declaration of Independence—either in the doctrine of "State sovereignty," or in the theory of democratic representation—what shall be said of their perfidious seizures of fortifications, arsenals, custom-houses, mints, revenue cutters, and other property of the United States? what of their daring robbery of the national treasury, and their secret transfer of money, arms, and soldiers to the South, through the complicity of their agents in the various departments at Washington, under the last administration, while pretending to be anxious for the preservation of the Union? what of their repeatedly firing upon the national flag without provocation, not a single shot being given in return? and, finally, what of their unprovoked bombardment and capture of Fort Sumter, in order to prevent its occupants from being supplied with food, and to precipitate a fierce and bloody civil war, which they madly hope will end in the subjugation of the North to their satanic rule? More and worse than all this—what shall be said in regard to the principles they avow, the doctrines they promulgate, and the object they have in view? Do they not outrage the moral sense of mankind, advocate absolute despotism even to the extent of making merchandize of their fellow-men, deny that the Creator has given to all his rational creatures an inalienable right to liberty, crush out freedom of speech and of the press wherever they hold dominion, and trample upon all that is sacred, holy and just? Have they any other purpose in view, except the utter subversion of free institutions, and the extension and perpetuation of their monstrous slave system, which is the embodiment of all forms of tyranny, and all degrees of violence and outrage, licentiousness and pollution, theft and robbery, usurpation and blasphemy? Aside from slaveholding, slave-breeding, and slave-trading on an unlimited scale, what motive have they for withdrawing from the Union? They constitute the most lawless, desperate, barbarous, mobocratic, tyrannical and profligate body of wrong-doers, to be found in the world. After having abolished marriage among their four million human victims, and forced them to cohabit like the beasts of the field—taken from them all power of choice, and all the fruits of their industry—denied them the right of testimony against those of a white complexion, no matter what may have been the cruelties perpetrated upon them—doomed them for life to be "chattels personal, to all intents, purposes and constructions whatsoever"—prohibited them, under severe penalties, all educational knowledge—made yokes for their necks, manacles for their limbs, and whips for their backs—trained bloodhounds to hunt them down whenever they seek deliverance from their terrible fate by flight—enacted laws for their subjugation, incomparably worse than Draco's code, whereby they may be subjected to every species of torture, even to being BURNT ALIVE, with impunity—what else can they do to augment the enormity of their guilt? We deal in no exaggerated language. All these things are true of them as a class, whatever exceptional cases may exist among them, calling for a less awful verdict.

Now, Heaven forbid that they should be in any manner identified with those at the North, who are endeavoring to effect a peaceful dissolution of the Union! The parties are wide as the poles asunder. The latter are justified in all that they demand, by every principle of justice, every claim of humanity, every law of God; by the patriotism of 1776 and the Christianity of the first century. They are the friends of impartial freedom, and, therefore, the enemies of no man; they cherish no sectional feelings, but are animated by a world-wide spirit; they desire to fill the whole land with the abundance of peace, and to make its prosperity like the waves of the sea; they stand in the ranks of those who, in all ages, have cheerfully "endured the cross and despised the shame," for righteousness' sake. Misunderstood, calumniated, and proscribed, they see of the travail of their souls, and are satisfied. As God lives, it is impossible that they can fail to be otherwise than honored by posterity. They are neither fanatical nor misled, but in their right minds, faithful in a faithless age, witnessing to the truth, protesting against the wrong, disseminating light and knowledge, and elevating the moral standard of the times.

"But they go for a dissolution of the Union—so do [illegible]ence?" We answer—

1. It lies in their reverence for the "higher law," as paramount to all human enactments and compacts. The issue they present is one of personal integrity, moral consistency, and true religion. The Constitution, in its pro-slavery guarantees as assented to and enforced ever since its adoption by the nation, they feel bound to pronounce, in the language of the prophet, "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell," and therefore unworthy of countenance, as well as surely destined to be overthrown. As it ought never to have been made, so it ought not any longer to stand. The South had no right to require any such guarantees, and the North none to grant them. Both parties are under the highest moral obligation to cancel them—the former by the immediate abandonment of her slave system, and the latter by declaring them to be null and void by reason of their inherent iniquity. No matter what consequences may follow: the consequences of right-doing can never prove ultimately disastrous: for if they lead through the flood or the fire—into the lion's den or the burning furnace—they also lead to glory and eternal life. The infatuation rests with those who say, "When the overflowing scourge shall pass through, it shall not come unto us; for we have made lies our refuge, and under falsehood have we hid ourselves"; for, in due time, "the hail shall sweep away the refuge of lies, and the waters shall overflow the hiding-place." The fanaticism is seen on the part of those who "trust in oppression and perverseness, and stay thereon"; for, in the end, "this iniquity shall be as a breach ready to fall, swelling out in a high wall, whose breaking cometh suddenly at an instant." To-day is the prediction verified!

2. The difference lies in the principles and measures of the disunion abolitionists. Those principles are based on eternal justice and unswerving rectitude, such as have been recognized by the wise and good in all ages, and the rejection of which is sure to be followed by heavy judgments. Those measures are peaceful and legitimate, being simply the employment of the pen and press, and the voice of the preacher and lecturer, to reach the consciences and hearts of the people by a powerful application of the truth,—as in the effort for the overthrow of heathenism abroad, and the suppression of intemperance at home [illegible] simply one of TESTIMONY and EXAMPLE. The message to be proclaimed is, as of old—"Ah, sinful nation, a people laden with iniquity, a seed of evil-doers, children that are corrupters! To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? saith the Lord. Bring no more vain oblations: incense is an abomination unto me: the new moons and sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with: it is iniquity, even the solemn meeting. YOUR HANDS ARE FULL OF BLOOD. Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil, learn to do well; SEEK JUDGMENT, RELIEVE THE OPPRESSED; judge the fatherless; plead for the widow . . . If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land; but if ye refuse and rebel, *ye shall be devoured by the sword:* for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it." Again, it runs in this manner:—"Undo the heavy burdens, break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free: then shall thy light rise in obscurity, and thy darkness be as the noon-day: and the Lord shall guide thee continually, and satisfy thy soul in drought, and make fat thy bones: and thou shalt be like a watered garden, and like a spring of water whose waters fail not. And they that shall be of thee shall build the old waste places: thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations: and thou shalt be called, The repairer of the breach, The restorer of paths to dwell in."

Such is Northern abolition disunion in contrast with Southern pro-slavery secession. The former is based upon the eternal fitness of things, and animated by a noble, disinterested, and philanthropic spirit. The latter is the concentration of all diabolism.

"THE SABLE CLOUD."

(SECOND ARTICLE.)

I wish now to look more particularly at some details of Dr. Adams's defence of slaveholding.

He finds it necessary to represent, as the remote basis of this defence, that God is angry with the whole race of negroes. Here are some of his expressions of this idea:—

"That the Africans are under a cloud of God's mysterious Providence, no one denies."—p. 80.

"His curse has for ages rested on the African race."—p. 137.

"Ethiopia may well say, stretching out her hands to God—Thy wrath lieth hard upon me, and thou hast afflicted me with all thy waves."—p. 245.

The premises from which he forms the conclusion that negroes are the special objects of God's "curse," are not very obvious; but the statement respecting this matter which seems designed by the writer to stand as an argument is expressed in the following passage; a passage worthy, therefore, of careful attention:—

"Ownership in man is not contrary to the will of God. I also find it written that Canaan shall be a servant. Hear these words of inspiration: *Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren. And he said, Blessed be the Lord God of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant. God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant.* As the Japhetic race is to dwell in the tents of Shem, for example, England occupying India, so I believe the black race is under the divine sentence of servitude."—p. 179.

The *italic* portion of this paragraph is presented to us as "the words of inspiration," and the concluding part is Dr. Adams's inference therefrom. Let us look at both these points.

What is the meaning of the claim that these are "the words of inspiration"?

Plainly, just this; that the writer of that portion of the Hebrew Scriptures was supernaturally assisted to give a perfectly accurate statement of what Noah said when he awoke from his fit of drunkenness. Very well, let it be so considered. Let it be granted that "inspiration" has shown us the exact amount of Noah's unreasonableness and injustice, in reviling the *son* of his injurer, instead of the injurer himself! How does this help Dr. Adams? How does it show slavery in South Carolina to be right?

It does not give the slightest particle of help in this direction. It shows only (the inspiration of the record being taken for granted, as above,) that Noah actually, at that moment, wished that Canaan, Ham's son, might "be cursed"; just as drunken men still frequently utter the foolish wish that their associates may "be damned." It is to be hoped that the old patriarch soon came to a better mind, and adopted better habits than drinking and cursing; but, even if we squeeze the worst possible meaning out of the record, it amounts to no more than that the individual grandfather, just at that time, wished that the individual grandson might "be cursed," and might be a servant instead of a master. Nothing is said, or intimated, of any *race*, not even of the race of Canaanites, who, as the next chapter tells us, settled in the land afterwards called Palestine, and who, as succeeding books of the Hebrew Scriptures tell us, were afterwards attacked, and many of them slaughtered, by the invader Joshua. The single fact contained in Dr. Adams's quotation is that Noah, on awakening from his wine, wished that Canaan might "be cursed," and that prosperity might attend Shem and Japheth.

The utterly absurd and preposterous inference drawn by our author from this passage is the following:—

"*So* I believe the black race is under the divine sentence of servitude"!

Both "the black race" and "the divine sentence" are here made up out of whole cloth, lugged in without the slightest reason or appropriateness. Not the least intimation is given about any "race," about anything "black," or anything "divine." And any other falsehood whatever might be substituted, with equal appropriateness, as Dr. Adams's *inference* from the Scriptural narrative about Noah and Canaan. If he [illegible] "*So* I believe fishes were made to live in the air!—or *So* I believe all horse-chestnuts to be chestnut horses!—it would have been no more utterly and absurdly a *non sequitur*. Yet the defender of slavery *must* either talk in this foolish way or hold his peace. He *must* violate reason as well as justice, if he tries to represent slaveholding as good, justifiable or right.

We must recognize the fact, then, not only that Dr. Adams has utterly failed to establish the corner-stone of his argument, but that he has failed ignominiously, having attempted, and been detected in, an imposture. There is no more reason to believe that "God's curse has for ages rested on the African race," than that it has rested upon all the other victims of pirates at sea and highway robbers on land. But it is plain that Dr. Adams has tried to impose upon his readers, by the presentation of a false inference as a true one. Let us turn to another ingenious contrivance of the same kind.

A slaveholding lady makes the following observation:—

"I never, said she, find abolitionists quoting the whole of the verse which says—*and hath made of one blood all the nations of the earth.*

What, said I, do they leave out?

And hath fixed the bounds of their habitations—are some of the next words, said she."

This brilliant suggestion of the meaning of a passage of Scripture, which has been cut and dried on page 67, is brought into service as an established truth on page 107, as follows:—

"Any attempts to force the Southern slaves away from their present relation are in violation of the laws of Providence concerning them. If they become free in a natural way, and can provide for themselves, or be provided for, it is well; otherwise, the South, and their present relation to the white race, are the bounds of their habitation fixed for them by an all-wise God, till his purpose concerning them as a race shall be made manifest."

The use of the word "force" in this paragraph is one of the many specimens of the author's unscrupulousness in the *insinuation* of falsehood. The *force* exerted upon the slaves is exerted to keep them in slavery, not to liberate them from it. Even John Brown only made them the *offer* of liberty, and his guns and pikes were intended only to prevent the master from interfering with the freedom of their choice. But the principal purpose of the above paragraph, and of the mutilated fragment of Scripture included in it, is to represent that God forbids the Southern slave to go to the North, or even off the plantation, without a pass.

God forbids him, according to parson Adams!

How does this appear?

Oh, it very manifestly appears, from this portion of the "words of inspiration." Paul, arguing to the polytheistic Athenians that God was *one*, and his Providence *one*, told them that, instead of each nation, tribe and craft of men having its separate deity, deities with conflicting characters and ordinances, the One Living and True God "hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation." He hath determined the bounds of the habitation of all men; *therefore* Cuffee must not go off the plantation without a pass! Don't you see?

But Cuffee's master can go wherever he pleases; and Dr. Adams, or you, or I, can go to South Carolina, or to Europe, or anywhere "on all the face of the earth," whenever we please, and for a time or for life, without disobeying God.

Oh, that is a very different thing! Don't you see?

All the way through Dr. Adams's two pro-slavery books, his readers are required to make such enormous jumps from premises to conclusion, as this passage indicates. But the readers of his devotional books and the hearers of his sermons have for twenty years been accustomed to do the same thing in those departments; a sentence of the Doctor's flowery rhetoric serves them as a spring-board, and they make the passage easily, and even unconsciously; and perhaps this is the explanation of the fact that they seem to take, from his lips, the reasonableness of slavery, like the reasonableness of damnation, with implicit faith, and without a murmur of dissent.

To return to Dr. Adams's paragraph, above quoted; its middle sentence is a very peculiar one, and may be advantageously contrasted with some other portions of the book. He says—in spite of God's *appointment* of the "bounds of their habitation"—

"If they become free in a natural way, and can provide for themselves, or be provided for, it is well."

What is a "natural way" to become free? Not, according to our author, the use of their legs, or the taking of a passage by ship, box or barrel, or by the under-ground or over-ground railroad. He constantly maintains that the slave has *no right* to leave his slavery; and here is one of the passages in which he undertakes to *argue* it:—

"If it be the right of one, under ordinary circumstances, to depart, it is the right of all. But the government under which they live recognizes slavery. . . The Constitution and the general government protect us in maintaining it. The right of our servants to leave us at pleasure, which could not of course be done without violence, implies, of course, the right of insurrection. It is impossible to define the cases in which insurrection is justifiable, but the general rule is, that it is wrong. Government is a divine ordinance. Men cannot capriciously overthrow or change it, at every turn of affairs which proves burdensome, or even oppressive. God is jealous to maintain human government as an important element in his own administration. Men justly in authority, or established in it by time, or by consent, or by necessity, or by expediency, may properly feel that they are God's vicegerents. He is on their side."—pp. 179, 180.

Let our readers note, in passing, the deceptive character (and the deceptive *purpose*—for Dr. Adams is [illegible] the Scriptural sense] of the assumptions, above, that [illegible] not escape "without violence on both sides," and that thus each escape bears the character of a general insurrection; that it is "impossible to define the cases in which insurrection is justifiable"—as if the American Declaration of Independence had not sufficiently defined them; that God recognizes each established government as right; and that men "established by time" in an *unjust* government "may properly feel" that God is on their side; and we come to the present point of our author's *argument*, that escape is not "the natural way," nor a justifiable way, for a slave to become free. What *is* the natural way, he nowhere informs us; so that this liberal-looking concession appears to have no meaning or force whatever; and the forty thousand slaves who have proved their power of "providing for themselves," first by escape from the dogs, rifles and hunters of Dr. Adams's clients, and then by independent self-support in Canada or New England, can get no particle of absolution from his reverence until he shall tell them what is the "natural way" for a slave to become free.

Here is another sweet little passage teaching the same doctrine, and presented by Dr. Adams as sound in *argument*:—

"The colored people here, as a race, said a planter, are under obligations to us as partakers in our civilization. No matter, for the present, how their ancestors came here;—that does not at all affect their present obligations to us for benefits received. Now it is not a matter of course that, having been thus benefitted by us, they are at liberty to go away when they please. This we assert respecting them as a whole. Are not the blacks, as a race, so indebted to us that we ought to be consulted as to the time and manner of their departure? We say that they are. They do not morally possess the right, we think, to sever the relation when they please."—pp. 186, 7.

When, on the other hand, the question of right of secession respects the slaveholders, and not the slaves, Dr. Adams puts in a word of incidental insinuation in behalf of his Southern brethren, suggesting that—"they simply withdraw, and hold the fortifications of the general government, in their territory, to keep the government from destroying their lives."—p. 261.

After suggesting Insurrection and Emigration as possible ways in which the problem of slavery may have its solution, Dr. Adams suggests a third, which he favors as the true, the right, and the [illegible] is to be defended, he represents it as *God's* work:—

"God may keep these Africans here much longer. He may need more territory on which to educate still larger numbers; and we may see Him extending slavery still further in our land and on our continent. So that there may be one other way in which the purposes of God will manifest themselves with regard to the colored race here, and that is by EXTENSION.

It may be that greater portions of this land and continent are to be used, for ages to come, in the multiplication of the black race. I feel entirely calm with regard to the subject, believing that God has a plan in all this, and that it is wise and benevolent toward all who fear him. While our relation to this people remains, the law of love, the golden rule, must preside over it. That does not require us to place the blacks on a level with us in our parlors, nor in our halls of legislation; and there may be disabilities properly attaching to them, which, though they seem hard, are the inevitable consequences of a dependent, inferior condition."—pp. 185, 6.

Did ever presumptuous audacity exceed that of this representation, in which the "law of love" is presumed to authorize the continuance of *caste*, and the *extension* of slavery? Did ever impiety exceed that of this allegation, by one who calls himself a Christian minister, that God not only authorizes and approves, but Himself executes, the EXTENSION OF SLAVERY?

Of one of the most atrocious laws and customs in the slave States, ruling that, in the churches as well as in the courts, the testimony of black people against white people shall not be taken, Dr. Adams speaks as follows:—

"If the slaves could swear in court, every one sees that the whites must be at the mercy of their servants. The testimony of the honest among them is procured, though indirectly, and it has weight with juries; *but it is a wise provision to exclude them as sworn witnesses.*"—p. 86.

In spite of this admission, which shows a radical difference between the authority exercised over the slave in the South and any authority exercised by anybody in the North, Dr. Adams has the hardihood, in other parts of his book, to represent the atrocious cruelties inflicted on slaves as parallel with the abuse sometimes inflicted by a man at the North upon his wife or his child, and to assert that legal punishment follows the former [illegible].

Of so many prime specimens of cool impudence as this book contains, it is difficult to select the chief; but the two following must certainly be allowed to stand in the front rank:—

Dr. Adams occupies two pages (pp. 190-92) with the testimony of a pious slave-breeder, who had "a hundred and seventy-five servants." He informs us that he "felt in buying servants, *and in having them born in his household*, somewhat as pastors of churches, he supposed, feel in receiving new members to be trained up for usefulness and for heaven."

The other specimen referred to occurs where Mr. A. Freeman North has been enthusiastically praising Mrs. Stowe's hero, Uncle Tom, p. 135:—

"Now, said I, what made Uncle Tom the paragon of perfection?

What made him? said he.

Yes, said I, what made him the model Christian? You do not reply, and I will tell you. SLAVERY MADE UNCLE TOM. Had it not been for slavery, he would have been a savage in Africa, a brutish slave to his fetishes, living in a jungle, perhaps; and had you stumbled upon him, he would very likely have roasted you and picked your bones. A system which makes Uncle Toms out of African savages is not an unmixed evil.

But, said he, it makes Legrees also!

I beg your pardon, Sir, said I, it does *not* make Legrees."

Of Dr. Adams's emphatic statement that the religion of the slaves "is full as good as that of converts in our foreign missionary fields"—a matter about which he ought to know, since he is a member of the Prudential Committee of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions—I shall speak in another number.—C. K. W.

☞ Be sure to read M. D. Conway's admirable Discourse on our first page—every word of it.

THOUGHTS ON TREASON.

MY DEAR GARRISON—Will you permit me to suggest a few thoughts to your readers on the subject of "Treason,"—a subject on which, with your characteristic vigor and eloquence, you insist in your reply to B. G. Wright, in your last number?

The commission of a crime, so to be defined, implies the existence of a legitimate *government*, towards which it is directed. Treason is a violent resistance of its natural demands—a deadly assault upon its characteristic prerogatives. The very foundations of it the traitor attempts to subvert; and, for this purpose, brings hostile forces into full requisition. Of course, treason cannot exist without the presence of a government—to be supported or assailed; and government cannot exist, apart from the *constructive principles* on which it is naturally organized, and from which it derives all its authority. Wherever these are embodied and applied, *there, and no where else*, is government. Truth, Order, Justice, fraternally cherished and expressed—these are its soul and substance—they are its life, and strength, and beauty, and glory. Treason consists in waging war on these majestic ideas, these sovereign principles, as the basis and being of an organized political society to which the traitor naturally belongs. This, and this only—this, and this always, is the crime, so to be described and disposed of.

A political society, which, under the name of government, and in its organization and activity, assails essential Truth, Order, Justice and Humanity, is itself, and as itself, flagrantly guilty of treason. Every feature of its organization, and every passage in its history, are stained with the guilt of this "gigantic" wickedness. It is itself, and as itself, treason, intensely, malignantly, ruinously. Its [illegible] the very foundations of lawful authority. Under its influence, the natural objects of civil government are rudely and murderously trodden under foot.

John Brown was no traitor. Not he! He maintained, lovingly and reverently, to his last breath, his allegiance to everything substantial and vital in the principles and arrangements, by which Human Nature is to be controlled. Treason was and is the presiding demon of Virginian society. The so-called State there was, and is, wholly and remorselessly traitorous. The plotting, cunning and armed violence, there enlisted and employed, are wielded to embarrass or crush Humanity. The assault on John Brown, there made, was wholly treasonable. Virginia was bound to do him homage as a king; it hung him on a gallows as a criminal. In the great Day of Order, when all healthful tendencies reach maturity, we shall all see John Brown on the one hand, and Henry A. Wise on the other, restored to their proper places, respectively.

In the struggle between the Secessionists and the Union, we see "the potsherds of the earth striving with each other." Traitor throttles traitor. They are enlisted, the one and the other, in a deadly warfare with Humanity. They assail, the one and the other, the dearest and most hallowed rights of the nature we have inherited. They wage war, both the one and the other, on the very soul of legislation. They belong essentially to the same party—are mutually, however blindly, auxiliary to each other. They are offering themselves eagerly to the Avenger as His executioners on each other. There is no *civil government*, as there are no Order, Justice and Humanity, enlisted on either side in the quarrel. It is treason in deadly array against treason. Perhaps they may blindly clear the way for something essentially *other* than now obtrudes its ghastliness upon our loathing thoughts. Heaven grant it!

Whitesboro', N. Y. BERIAH GREEN.

☞ Having given our views at length on this subject in preceding columns, it is not necessary for us here to show wherein we take a somewhat different view of the civil war now going on, from that expressed by our esteemed friend Green. On the issue raised by the Secessionists, they are wholly and fearfully in the wrong, while President Lincoln is indisputably in the right. On his side all the elements of freedom will coalesce, sympathetically and approvingly, as against their thoroughly infernal spirit and purposes, and a thousand times over wish him success in the struggle. At the same time, as pertaining to a continued union with the South, God grant that the North may speedily see the folly, danger and iniquity of trying it any longer! Let "the covenant with death, and the agreement with hell," be annulled by mutual consent—the North take the right, with not a Border Slave State left to mar her free policy, and let the South take the left, and the consequences!—[*Ed.*

SCHOOLS IN CONCORD. We have received an exceedingly interesting pamphlet, entitled "Reports of the School Committee, and Superintendent of the Schools, of the Town of Concord, Mass., with a Notice of an Exhibition of the Schools in the Town Hall, on Monday, March 18, 1861." The Report of the Superintendent, A BRONSON ALCOTT, is full of suggestive thought and descriptive beauty; embracing a wide range of methods and subjects—such as Singing, Recitations, Conversation, Use of Books, Pilgrim's Progress, Drawing, Forms and Ideas, Gymnastics, Amusements, Talking and Writing, Vocabulary, Grammar and Composition, Phonetics, Town Influences, State Duties, Nature and Culture,—&c., &c. These are all treated with that rare excellence of speech for which Mr. Alcott has so long been notable. Concord has reason to be proud of its schools and school-teachers.

☞ Crosby, Nichols, Lee & Co., have issued the fifth volume of Macaulay's History of England. This is uniform with the Boston edition, and is handsomely printed, larger, and every way more desirable than the New York 12mo. edition of the same. It contains one hundred and twenty pages not included in the other editions, comprising a valuable sketch of the Life and Writings of Macaulay, by S. Austin Allibone, new notes to the first four volumes, a complete index, and a double-page fac-simile from one of Macaulay's latest MSS. The volume is sold as cheaply as the others, being furnished at the [illegible]

DONATION. Our untiring friend R. H. OBER, at Bellows Falls, Vt., says in a note to the General Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, "It is with pleasure I respond to a call to cast my mite for the only free platform, and for the millions in the hell of American slavery. God be praised that such a Society yet lives! Put me down for twenty dollars. I only wish it could be more."

☞ The Rev. Edward P. Rogers, late pastor of the Plane Street Presbyterian Church, Newark, N. J., recently went to Africa with a view to promoting the objects of the African Civilization Society. He had visited some of the principal towns in Liberia, preaching and lecturing to the people as he went. At Cape Palmas he was overtaken by fever, and died. He graduated at Princeton College, and had an excellent reputation as a student. He had considerable poetic genius, and was the author of several satirical poems of great merit. He was also an efficient minister, and his death will be much lamented by the people of color throughout the Free States. He also leaves a wife to mourn his loss.

THE WAR SPIRIT. The capture of Fort Sumter by the Southern traitors has electrified the entire North, obliterated all party distinctions, and brought to the support of the Government men and money to any extent required by the dread emergency. The Confederated States are equally determined and active, and the most sanguinary conflicts may be expected. Probably, in a few days, a bloody assault will be made upon the Capitol at Washington, whither troops are hastening in all directions for its protection—Massachusetts volunteers being numerously represented, in response to a call upon Gov. Andrew by President Lincoln. Boston has presented a very martial aspect.

CIVIL WAR BEGUN!

FORT SUMTER CAPTURED.

THE FEDERAL CAPITAL IN DANGER.

THOUSANDS OF TROOPS MUSTERING.

THE NORTH UNITED AT LAST.

IMPORTANT CORRESPONDENCE.

CHARLESTON, April 12.

The following is the telegraphic correspondence between the War Department at Montgomery, and Gen. Beauregard, immediately preceding the hostilities. The correspondence grew out of the formal notification by the Washington government, which is disclosed in Gen. Beauregard's first dispatches:—

[No. 1.]

CHARLESTON, April 8.

L. P. WALKER, Secretary of War:

An authorized messenger from President Lincoln just informed Governor Pickens and myself that provisions will be sent to Fort Sumter peaceably, or otherwise by force. (Signed) G. T. BEAUREGARD.

[No. 2.]

MONTGOMERY, 10th.

GEN. G. T. BEAUREGARD, Charleston:

If you have no doubt of the authorized character of the agent who communicated to you the intention of the Washington Government to supply Fort Sumter by force, you will at once demand its evacuation, and if this is refused, proceed in such manner as you may determine, to reduce it. Answer.

(Signed) L. P. WALKER, Secretary of War.

[No. 3.]

CHARLESTON, April 10.

L. P. WALKER, Secretary of War:

The demand [illegible] G. T. BEAUREGARD.

[No. 4.]

MONTGOMERY, April 10.

GENERAL BEAUREGARD, Charleston:

Unless there are especial reasons connected with your own condition, it is considered proper that you should make the demand at an early hour.

(Signed) L. P. WALKER, Secretary of War.

[No. 5.]

CHARLESTON, April 10.

L. P. WALKER, Secretary of War, Montgomery:

The reasons are special for 12 o'clock.

(Signed) G. T. BEAUREGARD.

[No. 6.]

CHARLESTON, April 11.

L. P. WALKER, Secretary of War:

Demand sent at 2 o'clock. Allowed till 6 o'clock to answer. (Signed) G. T. BEAUREGARD.

[No. 7.]

MONTGOMERY, April 11.

GENERAL BEAUREGARD, Charleston:

Telegraph the reply of Major Anderson.

(Signed) L. P. WALKER, Secretary of War.

[No. 8.]

CHARLESTON, April 11.

To L. P. WALKER, Secretary of War:

Major Anderson replies, "I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication, demanding the evacuation of this Fort, and to say in reply thereto, that it is a demand with which I regret that my sense of honor and my obligation to my government prevent my compliance." He adds, "Probably I will await the first shot, and if you do not batter us to pieces, we will be starved out in a few days." (!) Answer. (Signed) G. T. BEAUREGARD.

[No. 9.]

MONTGOMERY, April 11.

GEN. BEAUREGARD, Charleston:

We do not desire needlessly to bombard Fort Sumter if Major Anderson will state the time at which, as indicated by him, he will evacuate, and agree that, in the meantime, he will not use his guns against us, unless ours should be employed against Fort Sumter. You are thus to avoid the effusion of blood. If this or its equivalent be refused, reduce the Fort as your judgment decides to be the most practicable.

(Signed) L. P. WALKER, Secretary of War.

[No. 10.]

CHARLESTON, April 12.

L. P. WALKER, Secretary of War:

He would not consent. I write to-day.

(Signed) G. T. BEAUREGARD.

CHARLESTON, April 12.

Civil war has at last begun. A terrible fight is at this moment going on between Fort Sumter and the fortifications by which it is surrounded.

The issue was submitted to Major Anderson of surrendering, or of having a fire opened on him within a certain time.

This he refused to do, and, accordingly, at 27 minutes past 4 o'clock this morning, Fort Moultrie began the bombardment by firing two guns. To these Major Anderson replied with three of his barbette guns, after which the battery on Mount Pleasant, Cummings's Point, and the Floating Battery, opened a brisk fire of shot and shell.

Breaches, to all appearance, are being made in the several sides exposed to fire. Portions of the parapet have been destroyed, and several of the guns there mounted have been shot away.

Quite a number have been struck by spent pieces of shell and knocked down, but none hurt seriously. Many fragments of these missiles are already circulating in the city.

CHARLESTON, April 13th.

Hostilities have for the present ceased, and victory belongs to South Carolina. With the display of a flag of truce from the ramparts of Fort Sumter at half-past one o'clock the firing ceased, and an unconditional surrender was made. The South Carolinians had no idea the fight would end so soon. After Major Anderson's flag-staff was shot away, Col. Wigfall, one of Gen. Beauregard's aids, went to Fort Sumter with a white flag to offer assistance in extinguishing the flames. He approached the burning fortress from Morris Island while the fire was raging on all sides, and effected a landing at Fort Sumter. He approached a port hole, and was met by Major Anderson. The latter said he had displayed a white flag, but the firing from the South Carolina batteries was kept up, nevertheless. Col. Wigfall replied that Major Anderson must haul down the American flag; that no parley would be granted, and that "surrender or fight" was the word. Major Anderson then hauled down the American flag, and displayed only a flag of truce. All firing instantly ceased. Two other officers of General Beauregard's staff, and ex-Senator Chesnut and ex-Governor Manning, came over in a boat and stipulated with Major Anderson that his surrender should be unconditional for the present, subject to the terms of General Beauregard. Major Anderson was allowed to remain with his men in actual possession of the Fort, while Messrs. Chesnut and Manning came over to the city, accompanied with a member of the Palmetto Guards, bearing the colors of his Company. These were met by hundreds of citizens, and as they marched up the streets to the General's quarters, the crowd was swelled to thousands. Shouts rent the air, and the [illegible]

A boat, with an officer and ten men, was sent from one of the four ships in the offing to General Simons, commander of the forces on Morris Island, with a request that a merchant ship, or one of the government vessels be allowed to enter and take off the commander and garrison of Fort Sumter. General Simons replied that if no hostilities were attempted during the night, and no effort being made to reenforce or retake Fort Sumter, he would give them an answer at nine o'clock Sunday morning. The officer signified that this was satisfactory, and returned.

The writer of this accompanied the officers of General Beauregard on a visit to Fort Sumter. None but officers were allowed to land, however. They went down in a steamer, which carried three fire-engines for the purpose of extinguishing the flames; the fire had, however, been previously extinguished by the exertions of Anderson and his men. Visitors reported that Major Anderson surrendered because his quarters and barracks were destroyed, and he had no hope of reenforcements.

The fleet laid idly by during thirty hours, and either could not or would not help him, besides his own men were prostrated by over-exertions. There were but five hurt, four badly, and one thought mortally, but the rest were worn out. The explosions were caused by the bursting of loaded shells, which were ignited by the fire, and could not be removed quick enough. The fire in the barracks was caused by the quantities of hot shot thrown from Fort Moultrie.

Within Fort Sumter every thing but the casemates is in utter ruin; the whole thing looks like a blackened mass of ruins. Many guns are dismounted. The side opposite Cumming's Point is the hardest dealt with, as the rifle cannon from this place played great havoc with Fort Sumter. The wall looked like honeycomb. Near the top is a breach as big as a cart. The side opposite Fort Moultrie is honeycombed extensively, as is that opposite the floating battery.

Fort Moultrie is badly damaged. The officers' quarters and barracks are torn to pieces. The frame houses on the island are riddled with shot in many instances, and whole sides of houses are torn out.

The fire in Fort Sumter was put out, but reset three times during the day. Dr. Crawford, Major Anderson's surgeon, is slightly wounded in the face; none of the South Carolinians were injured.

INCIDENTS OF THE BATTLE IN CHARLESTON HARBOR. We append a few of the incidents connected with the attack upon Fort Sumter. They are evidently colored with a Southern hue, and must be taken for what they are worth:—

Senator Wigfall in some manner bore dispatches to Morris Island, through the fire from Fort Sumter.

Senator Chesnut, another member of the staff of Gen. Beauregard, fired a gun by way of amusement, from Mount Pleasant, which made a large hole in the parapet.

The first shot was fired from Fort Johnson, on Morris Island, by Capt. James, and the second by Lieut. U. H. Gibbs. This was not answered until 8 o'clock this afternoon.

The first shot from Stevens' battery was fired by the venerable Edmund Ruffin, of Virginia.

The schooner Petrel, Capt. S. F. Coste, received four shots, but no damage.

Orders were issued to send Major Anderson a bomb from all the batteries every twenty minutes during the night, to keep him wide awake, making about two a minute.

Major Anderson fired only two barbette guns. Two more were dismounted. His shots at Fort Moultrie were generally bad, most of the balls going over. The same was the case with the Floating Battery, to which he was very particular in his attention. A ball penetrated the Moultrie House, where a party of gentlemen were sitting in the parlor, watching the fight. It entered the second story, and travelled into the kitchen. The gentlemen scattered miscellaneously.

Major Anderson received twenty-nine full shots from Stevens' battery alone, making the bricks fly from the walls in all directions.

It is estimated that from twelve to eighteen hundred balls and shells were fired during the day. Over one hundred balls took effect inside the fort.

Gov. Pickens was located all day in a gentleman's residence that commanded a view of the whole scene.

The excitement on Saturday in Charleston was indescribable. With the very first boom of the gun, thousands rushed from their beds to the harbor [illegible] gentlemen, viewing the solemn spectacle through their glasses. Most of these had relatives in the several fortifications, and many a tearful eye attested the anxious affection of the mother, wife and sister, but not a murmur came from a single individual.

Five thousand South Carolina ladies stand ready to respond to any sacrifice that may be required of them.

Business in Charleston on Saturday was entirely suspended. Only those stores were open necessary to supply articles required by the army.

The rebels (!) were perfectly reckless of their lives, and at every shot jumped upon the ramparts, and then jumped down cheering.

CHARLESTON, April 14. The last act in the drama of Fort Sumter has been concluded. Major Anderson has evacuated, and with his command departed by the steamer Isabel from the harbor. He saluted his flag, and the company, then forming upon the parade ground, marched out upon the wharf, with drum and fife playing "Yankee Doodle."

During the salute, a pile of cartridges burst in one of the casemates, killing two men and wounding four others. One was buried in the Fort with military honors. The other will be buried by the soldiers of South Carolina.

The news received from Washington to-night states that Major Anderson is strongly suspected of treachery. The idea is preposterous.

The Fort is burned into a mere shell; not a particle of woodwork can be found. The guns on one side of the parapet are entirely dismounted, others split, while the gun carriages are knocked into splinters.

Major Anderson says the accuracy of the firing surprised him, and that if he had had two hundred more men, one half would have been killed for want of suitable protection.

When Colonel Chesnut, aid of General Beauregard, went to offer assistance, after the fire, he says the Fort was like an oven, and he could hardly breathe. It was so hot that Major Anderson received him in one of the casemates. Inquiry being made how many were killed, he said, "None." "How many on your side?" "None," was the response. "Thank God," replied Major Anderson, "there has been a higher Power over us."

Major Anderson says it is preposterous to fight such a people. One of the officers in the Fort remarked that they had endeavored not to fire on exposed individuals. "Yes," said Major Anderson, "I gave orders not to sight men, but to silence batteries."

Both men and officers were begrimmed with smoke and powder.

The batteries which have done the most mischief are the Dahlgren battery, Stevens battery, and the rifle cannon.

The Fort was set on fire three times with hot shot on Friday, but it was extinguished. On Saturday it was again in flames, and then beyond control. After the fire ceased, the Surgeon General of the State troops went down and offered his personal services to aid the wounded.

As regards harbor defence, the Fort is just as good as ever. The casemates are perfect, the guns there in prime condition, and bear on both sides.

Major Anderson was obliged to throw overboard a large quantity of powder to prevent explosion, and it was floating around the Fort to-day.

One of the aids carried brandy to Major Anderson in a boat, after the fire, and the latter said it was very acceptable, as the men were completely exhausted by their labors. I mention this to show the kind and chivalrous relations between the officers.

Before going into action, Major Anderson sent word by an aid of General Beauregard to the Governor, thanking him for kind attentions during the past two months, and very solemnly said, "Farewell, gentlemen. If we do not meet again here, I hope we shall meet in a better world."

Just before the demand for the evacuation, he received a letter from his wife, informing him of the reports that the demand would be made. He was much surprised; but more so when the fact was verified three minutes afterward.

The Fort has been garrisoned by the Palmetto Guards, and put under command of Lieut. Colonel Ripley, who commanded Fort Moultrie after the departure of Major Anderson.

The Major's feelings were spared in every respect, and no person, except authorized aids, allowed inside. The harbor is full of boats sailing around the Fort. But no parties without business are permitted to land.

Special dispatches to-night state that Mr. Lincoln has called for seventy-five thousand volunteers. The people think there is a great deal of bluff about it.

The city is resuming its usual quiet. Everybody is exchanging congratulations over the successful termination of the fight; but the soldiers are itching for a hand to hand brush.

The Confederate flag and the Palmetto flag were hoisted on separate spars simultaneously.

It is believed that a blockade has been finally established.

The following information comes from Washington, on Sunday:—

"Mr. Wiley, of New York, had an interview with the President to-night. He left Charleston on Friday night, and says he saw the battle during that day. He says there was not an interval of two minutes between the firing on both sides after Major Anderson opened his fire, which was not until about seven o'clock, A. M., two and a half hours after the Morris, Sullivan and James island batteries had been pouring into Fort Sumter. Mr. Wiley says Major Anderson worked his guns actively all day, until six o'clock Friday evening. The Charlestonians were surprised at it, in view of the small number of men in the place."

RICHMOND, Virginia, April 13th.

There is great rejoicing here over the news from Charleston. One hundred guns have been fired to celebrate the surrender of Fort Sumter. The Confederate flags are everywhere displayed, while music and illuminations are the order of the evening.

Governor Letcher has just been serenaded, and made a non-committal speech. The streets are crowded with people, and the utmost enthusiasm and excitement prevail.

The demonstrations continued until midnight, and illuminations, bonfires and fireworks were everywhere to be seen. A party ascended the roof of the capitol, and hoisted a Southern flag on the flag-staff, but it was subsequently removed by the guard.

The Virginia State Convention reassembled to-day, and went into committee of the whole. The first three sections of the proposed amendments to the Constitution were adopted without material amendment. A new section was offered by Mr. Wise, providing that compensation be made in all cases where property in persons held to service or to labor has been or may be taken for the public use, as in cases of impressment, etc. Adopted.

The fourth section was then adopted.

The fifth section, prohibiting the importation of slaves, was then taken up. Numerous amendments to it were offered, and finally it was adopted with an amendment providing that nothing herein contained shall apply to the Southern States which have or may declare their separation, in case their separation be acknowledged and continued.

MONTGOMERY, April 16th. Jeff. Davis's answer to the President's proclamation is rough and curt: "Fort Sumter is ours, and nobody hurt. With mortar, Paixhan and petard, we tender old Abe our *Beauregard*."

AUGUSTA, Ga., April 16. One hundred guns are being fired here in honor of the surrender of Fort Sumter.

NEW ORLEANS, April 13. There was a grand muster of the city volunteers this morning, and preparations are making to defend the mouth of the Mississippi river in the best possible manner.

REPLY OF THE PRESIDENT TO THE VIRGINIA COMMISSIONERS.

☞ The following is the reply of Mr. Lincoln to the Virginia Commissioners:—

To Messrs. Preston, Stuart, and Randolph:

GENTLEMEN,—As a Committee of the Virginia Convention, now in session, you present me a preamble and resolution as follows:—

"Whereas, in the opinion of this Convention, the uncertainty which prevails in the public mind as to the policy which the Federal Executive intends to pursue towards the seceded States, is extremely injurious to the industrial and commercial interests of the country, tends to keep up an excitement which is unfavorable to the adjustment of the pending difficulties, and threatens a disturbance of the public peace—therefore,

"Resolved, That a Committee of three delegates be appointed to wait on the President of the United States, to communicate to this Convention the policy which the Federal Executive intends to pursue in regard to the Confederate States."

I answer, I have to say that having at the beginning of my official term expressed my intended policy as plainly as I was able, it is with deep regret and mortification I now learn there is great and injurious uncertainty in the public mind as to what that policy is, and what course I intend to pursue.

Not having as yet occasion to change, it is my purpose to pursue the course marked out in the inaugural address. I commend a careful consideration of the whole document as the best expression I can give to my purposes. As I then and therein said, I now repeat, the power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy and possess property and places belonging to the Government, and to collect the duties and imports, but beyond what is necessary for these objects there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere.

By the words, property and places belonging to the Government, I chiefly allude to the military posts and property which were in the possession of the Government when it came into my hands, but if, as now appears to be true, in pursuit of a purpose to drive the U. S. authorities from their places, an unprovoked assault has been made upon Fort Sumter, I shall hold myself at liberty to repossess it, and, if I can, like places which have been seized before the Government was devolved upon me, and in any event I shall to the best of my ability repel force by force.

In case it proves true that Fort Sumter has been assaulted, as is reported, I shall perhaps cause the U. S. mails to be withdrawn from all the States which claim to have seceded, believing that actual war against the government justifies and possibly demands it.

I scarcely need say that I consider the military posts and property situated within the States which claim to have seceded, as yet belonging to the U. S. Government, as much as before the supposed secession. Whatever else I may do for the purpose, I shall not attempt to collect the duties and revenues by any armed invasion of any part of the country; not meaning by this, however, that I may not land a force deemed necessary to relieve a Fort upon the border of the country. From the fact that I have quoted a part of the inaugural address, it must not be inferred that I repudiate any other part,—the whole of which I reaffirm, except so far as what I now say of the mails may be regarded as a modification.

PROCLAMATION BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

WASHINGTON, April 15th.

Whereas the laws of the United States have been for some time past and now are opposed, and the execution thereof obstructed, in the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas, by a combination too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in Marshals by the law; now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, in virtue of the power in me vested by the Constitution and the laws, have thought fit to call forth, and hereby do call forth the militia of the several States of the Union, to the aggregate number of seventy-five thousand, in order to suppress said combinations and to cause the laws to be duly executed. The details of this object will be immediately communicated to the State authorities through the War Department.

I appeal to all loyal citizens to facilitate and aid this effort to maintain the honor, the integrity and the existence of our National Union, and the perpetuity of popular government, and to redress the wrongs already long enough endured. I deem it proper to say that the first service assigned to the forces hereby called forth will probably be to repossess the forts, places and property which have been seized from the Union, and in every event the utmost care will be observed, consistently with the objects aforesaid, to avoid any devastation, any destruction of or interference with property, or any disturbance of peaceful citizens in any part of the country. I hereby command the persons composing the combinations aforesaid to disperse, and retire peaceably to their respective abodes within twenty days from this date.

Deeming that the present condition of public affairs presents an extraordinary occasion, I do hereby, in virtue of the power in me vested by the Constitution, convene both houses of Congress. Senators and Representatives are therefore summoned to assemble at their respective chambers, at twelve o'clock, noon, Thursday, the fourth day of July next, and there to consider and determine such measures as in their wisdom the public safety and interest may seem to demand.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington, this fifteenth day of April, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and sixty-one, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-fifth.

[Signed] ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *Sec'y of State.*

WASHINGTON, April 16.—The Governors of Kentucky and North Carolina have positively refused to furnish the quota of troops required from those States, and the President has sustained the Secretary of War in ordering volunteers here immediately from Massachusetts, to furnish a Brigade of four regiments, under a Brigadier General.

One of the regiments will be sent to Fort Monroe, Norfolk, and the other three retained here.

Measures are being taken to insure the railroad line from interruption, and secure the safe transportation of the troops.

PROVIDENCE, R. I., April 13. Gov. Sprague has tendered to the Government the services of the Marine Artillery, and one thousand infantry, and offers to accompany them himself.

☞ The Providence *Journal* says a message was sent to Major Burnside, who was in New York Monday, inquiring how much notice he desired to prepare himself for service. He replied, "One minute." That is the right sort of a "minute man" to have a command in the Rhode Island regiment.

ALBANY, April 16. The three million war bill reached the House this morning, from the Senate, and passed with only one negative. The Governor signs the bill to-day.

NEW YORK, April 16. *Threats to Mob the New York Herald Office.* Mayor Wood has issued a proclamation, calling on the people to preserve peace and order, and to unite in obedience to the laws for the protection of property. The proprietor of the *Herald* yesterday afternoon was hooted in the streets, but was protected by the police. There were rumors of an attack on the *Herald* last night, but the rain-storm and police prevented. The *Herald* displayed the American flag in the afternoon.

MONTGOMERY, April 16. The Cabinet to-day read President Lincoln's proclamation amid bursts of laughter. (!!!) The Secretary of War authorized the statement that 32,000 more troops be called out to meet President Lincoln's men.

PHILADELPHIA, April 16. The State Legislature have enacted a law making any connivance with the enemies of the government punishable by a fine of $5000 or ten years' imprisonment.

NEW YORK, April 13. *Southern Bravado.* A special dispatch from Montgomery to the *Herald* says that Secretary Walker said in his speech last night:—"Let them try the Southern chivalry and test the strength of Southern resources, and it (the Confederate flag) might eventually wave over Faneuil Hall itself."

MONTGOMERY, April 13. The President and Secretary of War were serenaded last night. The latter said the Confederate flag would soon be waving over Fort Sumter and from the Federal Capitol at Washington, if their independence is not acknowledged and hostilities continue.

RICHMOND, Va., April 15. The President's proclamation receives general execration. The public mind is fearfully excited, and the secessionists declare that nothing could be more favorable to their cause. Military men say they would sooner die than respond to such a call.

NEW YORK, April 14. The seventh and sixty-ninth regiments have volunteered their services to the Government for the defence of Washington. The twelfth regiment holds a meeting to-morrow.

LANCASTER, Pa., April 15. Ex-President Buchanan participates in the expression of a determination to sustain the Government.

Ex-President Fillmore has publicly given his hearty approval and support of the Government.

OBITUARY.

Died, in Hancock, (N. H.,) March 22, Capt. DAVID BOUTELLE, of paralysis, aged 67 years.

Mr. Boutelle has long been known throughout this region as a man of pure morals and a zealous Abolitionist—a stanch pioneer to this people in almost every good cause agitated among us under the name of reform. Although he was not a common preacher or lecturer, yet a long practice in teaching, in connection with the various offices which he had held, peculiarly fitted him to approach and gain an audience from people as they were about their various avocations of life. His "walks of usefulness" were not confined to the people of the town in which he resided, nor to his county or State. Being generally well posted in regard to the current events of the day, his calls were generally received cheerfully among the more liberal and well-informed of the community. His visits were always short, and of a business character. He was ever on the move. He seemed like one who felt it his duty to "be about his Master's business." After the loss of the sense of acute hearing, a period of about twenty-five years, he was deprived of many spheres of usefulness, and of the benefit of public lectures in general. After this deprivation, his more public exercises were those of selling good and useful books, whereby his influence was ever extended and extending.

Mr. Boutelle was ever an attentive patron and reader of the *Liberator*, imbibing its spirit of temperance, liberty and freedom, in an eminent degree. Many of the Christian traits were strikingly manifested in his character, such as benevolence, disinterestedness, good-will, patience, forbearance. He seemed daily to crucify the world unto himself, and lived above it, unperplexed by its sordid cares and follies. In the strength of his manhood, he publicly avouched the Lord Jesus Christ to be his unerring example. Yet, in his desire for progress, he soon rose above church creeds and sectarian formalities, to judge of his God, and his duties towards him, according to his own understanding by the teachings he received from the broad field of creation and reason, aided by divine revelation, ancient and modern, together with the help of every divine known to him, of whatever sect or name.

Fond of those exercises and aspirations, which lift the heart and soul up to God in joyful aspirations, he repudiated those peculiar rites and formalities of service which have but little to do with the spirituality of mankind, farther than governing and enslaving their minds and bodies to the will of their rulers. A CITIZEN.

Hon. JOSEPH T. BUCKINGHAM, the veteran journalist of New England, died in Cambridge on Thursday morning, at the age of 81 years and four months. He was born in Windham, Conn. His father exhausted his whole property in supporting the American army during the Revolution, and died March 17, 1783, leaving a family without any means of support. In 1806, having changed his name, by application to the Legislature, from Tinker to Buckingham, which was his mother's family name, he commenced life for himself by the publication of the *Polyanthus*, a monthly magazine, which, after an existence of a year, was discontinued, and not resumed until 1812. In 1809, Mr. Buckingham published for six months the *Ordeal*, a weekly magazine. In 1817, in company with Samuel L. Knapp, he commenced the publication of the *New England Galaxy, and Masonic Magazine*, which continued in his possession until 1828, when he sold it. In 1831, in connection with his son, he commenced the publication of the *New England Magazine*, which was continued under his care until 1834, and contained contributions from numerous writers who have since attained great literary eminence. In 1834, he published the first number of the *Boston Courier*, a paper which he continued to edit until June, 1848. Mr. Buckingham was several times elected to the Legislature, and, in 1847–'48, and 1849–'51, to the Senate of Massachusetts. He has also published *Specimens of Newspaper Literature, with Personal Memoirs, Anecdotes and Reminiscences*, 2 vols., Boston, 1852, and *Personal Memoirs and Recollections of Editorial Life*, 2 vols., Boston.

The funeral of Mr. Buckingham took place from his residence in Old Cambridge, on the next Saturday afternoon, April 13, at 3 o'clock. There was a large attendance of persons present, including the government of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association, several editorial representatives of the press, and a delegation of printers. The services were conducted by Rev. R. W. Ellis, of the First Church, Chauncy Street, Boston, and the remains were conveyed to Mount Auburn.

☞ THE NINTH YEARLY MEETING OF PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS will convene at Longwood, Chester Co., Pennsylvania, on FIFTH DAY (Thursday,) the 6th of Sixth month, (June,) 1861.

This annual assemblage is held for religious communion, for mutual interchange of thought and opinion, for the perpetuation of old friendships and the formation of new; in brief, for a festival of three days of social, intellectual and spiritual fellowship and profit. The members of this Religious Society do not hold their membership by virtue of any ecclesiastical vows or bonds, or of any real or supposed unity of theological belief. Their common faith, if it were written, would be simply and only the essential principle of love to God—a love to be exhibited, not through devotion to creeds and forms, but in lives of purity and beneficence, in the recognition and defence of the equal rights of mankind, in efforts to break the chains of the oppressed, and in firm resistance to every form of iniquity and wrong.

To all persons having such feelings, desires and aims, we extend a cordial invitation to meet and co-operate with the Society.

Persons interested in the cause to which the Society of Progressive Friends is devoted, and who may be unable to attend the Yearly Meeting, are hereby assured that written communications, expressing their sympathy with the movement, or conveying the thoughts and suggestions that seem to them adapted to its objects and needs, will be gratefully received. Communications may be addressed to Oliver Johnson, No. 5 Beekman Street, New York, or to Joseph A. Dugdale, Hamorton, Chester Co., Pa.

☞ NATIONAL WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION.—The Eleventh National Woman's Rights Convention will be held in Cooper Institute, New York, Thursday, May 9th, morning and afternoon, at 10 and half-past 7 o'clock. Admission to morning session free—evening session 25 cents. Wendell Phillips, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Ernestine L. Rose, Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell, Aaron M. Powell and others will address the Convention.

If, in the language of Emerson, "men are what their mothers made them," the vigor and virtue of a nation must depend on the character of its women.

If we would build up a free Republic, on a firm, enduring foundation, we must have a higher, nobler type of womanhood than advancing civilization has yet produced.

If we would have a wise and just government, that shall stand the test of ages, we must secure equal political power to the women of the nation.

We invite all who are interested in the education and elevation of Woman, to aid us with their presence and their counsels.

In behalf of the National Woman's Rights Committee,

E. CADY STANTON, *President.*

SUSAN B. ANTHONY, *Secretary.*

☞ WENDELL PHILLIPS will deliver a discourse before the Twenty-Eighth Congregational Society, at Music Hall, Sunday forenoon, April 21.

☞ PARKER PILLSBURY will lecture in MALDEN, on Saturday evening next, April 20.

☞ A. T. FOSS, Agent of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, will speak at

Essex, Mass., Sunday, April 21.
Manchester, Mass., Monday, " 22.
Manchester, N. H., Sunday, " 28.

☞ HENRY C. WRIGHT will speak at

Valley Falls, R. I., Sunday, April 21.
Manchester, N. H., " " 28.

☞ E. H. HEYWOOD will speak at

Hopedale, Sunday A. M., April 21.
Milford. " P. M., " "

WANTED—By a young man, 22 years of age, a situation as Book-keeper, Secretary, or Amanuensis. Understands book-keeping both by double and single entry, is a good penman, correct in figures, and can furnish good references as to character and ability. Would prefer to work for an Abolitionist or a Republican. Address D. W. D., Box 2702, P. O. April 12—3t

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THE NO. OF DAYS **365** IN THE YEAR. **Washington Street.**

	cts.
Grey Goods,	12 1-2
Figured Grey Goods,	25
Striped and Figured Grey Goods,	25
Checked Mohairs,	25
Good Prints,	7 and 8
Best American Prints,	10
Best English, "	11
Best yard wide "	17
Best French "	25
Best Delaines,	17
All wool Delaines, (plain,)	25
Best all wool Delaines,	33
Organdie and Cambric Muslins, from	8 to 50
Tidies; all styles, from	12 1-2 to 50
Curtain Muslins, from	25 to 37 1-2
Best Cambrics,	6 1-4
Best Sarcnet Cambrics,	8
Best Silecia	10
4-4 Cotton,	10
5-4 "	12 1-2
7-8 "	8

Best Hoop Skirts, (Mrs. Sherman's make,) warranted not to get out of order, from 75 cts. upwards.

Cashmere Scarfs, from $1 to $4.

Linen Bosom,	12 1-2 to 30
Linen Collars and Cuffs,	10
Linen Sets,	25
Best Linen Gent's Hdkfs.,	25
" " Ladies' "	12 1-2
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Poetry.

For the Liberator.

THE MOB-LEADERS OF BOSTON AND OTHER TOWNS OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Not with more human strength, 'gainst human might,
Do ye contend; but with the awful Hand
That framed the universe, and gave command,
"Render to all men just and equal right."

In vain your legislators seek control
Over the profligate, the rude untaught;
Whilst, rashly blind, ye bid them set at nought
Laws that a nation bind in one great whole.

Know ye the furious beast ye have unchained,
Wild Anarchy, will make his choicest food
On all that's precious, holy, true and good,
Then turn and rend you with its fangs blood-stained?

Is this the freedom ye so madly claim,
Freedom to lead an untaught mob, your slaves?
Freedom to bound on felons, fools, and knaves?
Oh, sacred Freedom, thus they mock thy name!

"He is the freeman whom the Truth makes free,"
He, the true freeman, is not Mammon's slave;
Truth makes men honest, holy, just, and brave;
Makes them, oh sacred Freedom, worthy thee!

Tenterden, Eng. JANE ASHBY.

From the Norristown Freeman.

HAIL, COLUMBIA!

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED TO THE FOUNDERS OF THE NEW SOUTHERN REPUBLIC.

Hail, Columbia, traitors' land!
Hail, ye negroes, captive band,
Who toil each day in "massa's" cause,
Who toil each day in "massa's" cause;
And, when the weary task is done,
Sigh o'er the "unground peck" you've won,
Ne'er of independence boast,
Ever mindful what 'twould cost;
But thank God, each night and morn,
That you were in thraldom born!

CHORUS:—Firm in this forever be,
Rallying round your slavery;
As a band of captives, then,
Ne'er remember you are men.

Sons of stolen sires of yore,
You know no rights, you have no power;
Bow ye to your master's hand,
Bow ye to your master's hand;
There the large deposit lies,
Earned by you with tears and sighs!
Believe he is sincere and just,
And place in Heaven your firmest trust,
That truth and justice soon may fail,
And each disunion scheme prevail.
Firm in this, &c.

Sound, sound the trump of fame!
Let Buck's* dishonored name
Ring through the South with loud applause,
Ring through the South with loud applause;
Let every clime to Slavery dear
Listen with a joyful ear:
By prayers and tears he seeks the power
To rule the land in this dark hour,
"Yet plays the traitor's part with ease,
His masters of the South to please."
Firm in this, &c.

Behold him trying to command
A snarling, fighting, Southern land,
The land on which a curse shall rest,
The land on which a curse shall rest;
And flanked by traitors far and near,
He strives to sweep the Union clear.
But, should his good friends fall away—
Should Lincoln's star obscure his day—
Let us, with minds from changes free,
Resolve on *Death to Slavery!*
Firm in this, &c.

Radnor, Del. Co. M. J. V.

* The above was written when Old Buck was dishonoring the chair of State.

From the Chicago Tribune.

HO! FOR COMPROMISE.

War beacons blaze on Southern hills,
On Southern plains armed hosts review;
War's clarion blast the country fills,
And what can we poor Northrons do
But "Compromise"?

They've ta'en our friends, among them found,
Their only crime's Northern birth,
Hung, tarred and feathered, gagged and bound,
Till we're no remedy on earth
But "Compromise"!

They tramp our banners 'neath their feet,
They storm our forts, our mints they seize;
Our stolen vessels swell their fleet:
Such doughty foes we'd best appease
By "Compromise"!

Our Northern conscience is too nice;
Religion but fanatic zeal;
Let's change our dogmas in a trice,
And all we hope, and think, and feel,
For "Compromise"!

Let platforms, parties, pass away—
Our fathers' creed and faith be spurned;
Even sacred Freedom we'll betray,
And all that Freedom's cause has earned,
For "Compromise"!

Let Justice throw her scales away;
Humanity go weep in vain;
For we to extend King Cotton's sway,
Must train the hound, and forge the chain,
And "Compromise"!

What though our country's fame be stained?
What though Heaven's blessing we forego?
The Union, sirs, must be sustained!
So, strike her colors to the foe,
And "Compromise"!

Let Jefferson in odium rot,
While honest Douglas wins his place;
Be Jackson's firmness all forgot,
While weak-kneed Kellogg shrieks for grace
And "Compromise"!

No Force-bill fills the South with fears,
Closed ports tame not their fiery mood;
"Coercion" grates on Southern ears;
We'll deal with traitors dyed in blood,
By "Compromise"!

Virginia! make your "just demands";
Texas! *your* "wrongs" shall be redressed!
And South Carolina's gentle hands
May crack the whip o'er all the rest!
We'll "Compromise"!

S. W. TEMPLE.

Victoria, Ill., Feb. 17, 1861.

CHAUCER'S COUNSEL.

[WRITTEN SHORTLY BEFORE HIS DEATH.]

Flee from the crowd, and be to virtue true,
Content with what thou hast, though it be small;
To hoard brings hate—nor lofty things pursue;
He who climbs high endangers many a fall;
Envy's a shade that ever waits on fame,
And of the sun that rises it will hide.
Trace not in life a vast, expansive scheme,
But be thy wishes to thy state allied.
Be mild to others, to thyself severe—
So truth shall shield thee, or from hurt or fear.

Think not of bending all things to thy will,
Nor vainly hope that fortune shall befriend;
Inconstant she, but be thou constant still,
Whate'er betide, unto an honest end.
Yet needless dangers never madly brave—
Kick not thy naked foot against a nail;
Or from experience the solution crave,
If wall and pitcher strive, which shall prevail.
Be in thy cause, as in thy neighbor's, clear
So truth shall shield thee, or from hurt or fear.

The Liberator.

NO MORE COMPROMISES.

EDITOR OF THE LIBERATOR:

DEAR SIR—This no is flattery—it is the outgushing of soul from impulses wrought by the sentiment of an extract from your paper copied into the *American Wesleyan* of January 23. *Amen!* and AMEN! was the responsive emotion of my heart, on reading of your persecutions and sacrifices for righteousness' sake. "That's the position," said I. That is what will gain the triumph in the name and strength of God. Not a life sacrificed for humanity in Christ's name can be lost; not a tear that falls, a drop of blood that is shed, a moment's suffering endured, a sigh or a groan uttered, but that it is marked by the finger of God, and shall have its full weight in the scale, either as inducing the end sought, or in making up that amount of retribution for sin divinely destined in the grand economy of God, and in vindication of divine justice!

You lift up your mighty, thrilling voice with the cry of "Hail the approaching jubilee! ye millions, who are wearing the galling chains of slavery, for, assuredly, the day of your redemption draws nigh!" That "the dissolution of the Union is the abolition of slavery," I have ever believed, most sentimentally, to be a true maxim. And here I say, would to God, then, it may come, rather than continue as it has done, devising and perpetuating the greatest possible crimes of suffering against humanity, and of injustice against the God of the oppressed.

I am not certain, sir, that I ever saw one of your papers; and this I [illegible] I will strive to reform my dereliction. I live here in Egypt, away down in Illinois, where the feeling and sentiment favoring oppression are made the order of the day. My sentiment and feeling, too, are yours. The perpetuation and repetition of a wrong can never justify that wrong, or *produce a right*. And yet that is the sentiment entertained, and the progamme adopted, by nine-tenths, nay, ninety-nine hundredths of the masses! God, be merciful!

You say, "All compromises are idiotic." True; and rather than the weight of a hair be yielded to the demand of slavery in the present conflict, let the South rush impetuously on into the yawning chasm agape to receive her. Mark, sir! the hour of the liberation of the oppressed will never arrive until that arm be broken which holds them. The wicked will never yield their hold upon the cause of rapine and blood till their cup is full, and running over; and till the wasting contents inundate and destroy their interests. Smother not the war-cry, then; let it roar—let the battle of the "irrepressible conflict" rage hotter and hotter till the bonds are broken. Then may the voice of peace and freedom be heard, like that of the dove, in all the borders of our land. Let the reconstruction of a governmental fabric be formed, repudiating all forms of oppression, and guaranteeing the most perfect political freedom, and the equal rights of all.

Yours, for universal freedom,

A. G. MEACHAM.

Mont Meacham, Ill.

MRS. ERNESTINE L. ROSE.

FRIEND GARRISON:

Last Sabbath evening, I listend to a lecture from the gifted and intellectual mind of Mrs. Rose. Her subject was an "Inquiry into the existence of a God." The hall was crowded with an audience who gave her a respectful and patient hearing. The cause, in part, of the notoriety she has gained, may be assigned to a slanderous and bigoted article which appeared in the *Milford Journal*, charging her with being a disciple and advocate of "free love." It was said she fully and heartily endorsed the speech of Mrs. Branch at the "Rutland Convention." But, fortunately for her, and most unfortunately for her slanderer, she did no such thing; as reference to the faithful verbatim report proves that her endorsement was given to Mr. Tiffany, who followed Mrs. Branch, in a description of true "conjugal love." And the fact also appears that Mrs. Rose utterly repudiated anything and everything like the promiscuous mingling of the sexes. So much in justice ought to be said. We can afford to be fair and just even to an atheist, for such, I painfully regret, Mrs. R. avowed herself to be.

I am not sorry I listened to her argument in denial of the existence of a God. I feel that my faith in the dear Father of us all is stronger, if possible, than before; for, be it remembered, the major part of the lecturer's work was the repudiation of a *false* and *vindictive* Being; as also her denial of religion was an exposé of false views, defended by sectarists, who make a God after their own passions and prejudices, and substitute an *effete* creed for a life of love and service to man.

Her chief objection was founded upon that pseudo Christianity which talks so much about glorifying God in the *abstract*, and leaving his children to suffer and die; when the simple truth is, we can only worship and serve God by blessing our suffering brother. With all the ability possessed by the lecturer, she entirely overlooked the pregnant fact, that Jesus made the doing of the will of his Father in heaven to consist in blessing the least of his disciples. I cannot tell how dear to me are the life and example of Christ, "who went about doing good"—"preaching deliverance to the captive."

In fact, my impression was, that Christianity, shorn of its false and heartless appendage, was in the heart even of one who boldly declared there is no God. Great is the work and responsibility of those who love the Father and his Son, to redeem the wandering and skeptical by the spirit of kindness and love. We may rail and cant to our heart's content—we may cry out, "Come and see my zeal for the Lord!"—but, would we advance the kingdom of truth and righteousness, we must do more than argue metaphysically, we must *live* the truth.

Thousands of sensitive and benevolent minds are driven over to skepticism by the arrogant harshness of sectarians, who put faith in *dogmas*, about which there have ever been, and ever will be, honest differences, for a steadfast life devoted to the application of the two great commandments—"Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, mind and strength, and thy neighbor as thyself."

Doubtless, had Mrs. Rose found less bitterness, and more of the spirit of the Master, in those with whom she comes in contact in her faithful labors of reform, she would at least have a better opinion of what she now rejects. The thought is precious, that while the soul may be darkened and unable to see God, the Infinite Father sees and blesses his orphan child.

Milford, Mass. G. W. S.

WORCESTER COUNTY A. S. SOCIETY.

LEOMINSTER, April 4, 1861.

The Worcester North Anti-Slavery Society held their quarterly convention at Gardner Hall, at half-past 1, P. M., Joel Smith, Vice President, in the chair. Geo. F. Colburn was chosen Secretary *pro tem*. A letter was read from J. T. Everett, President of the Society, explanatory of his absence. In the course of it he said—"I shall be with you in spirit, though not in body; for wheresoever there are labor and hearty sacrifice to lift up the poor and oppressed of our race, there I know God is worshipped in sincerity and truth; there I desire to be found with such worshippers who do thus appoint and keep the true fast of the Lord, and the only fast that can be acceptable to God in this Commonwealth, or in any part of this guilty, God-defying and oppressive nation. * * * The Southern seceders are gone, and I hope never to come back to this guilty Union. Gone in their folly and mistake, hoping to increase and perpetuate the power of the slaveholding oligarchy. *Vain and delusive hope!* God is against them, and all true hearts in this and all worlds are against them."

Selections from Scripture were read by E. H. Heywood.

Voted, That the President appoint a Committee of three on Nomination of Officers for the ensuing year, and Finance. The following were appointed: Geo. Miles, of Westminster, J. M. Eveleth, of Princeton, Isaac Smith, of Leominster.

Addresses were made by Messrs. E. H. Heywood, A. T. Foss, and the President.

Adjourned to half-past 7 o'clock, P. M.

EVENING SESSION. A. T. Foss addressed the Convention upon the principles of the Society, in an able and conclusive manner.

E. H. Heywood also addressed the Convention. Principles were not founded upon the right basis; too much upon tradition—falsehood, cruelty and oppression. Moral laws, like physical laws are persistent and universal. Slavery is as wrong a Arkansas as in Massachusetts. South Carolina is the "South-Side" of the bottomless pit. A pro-slavery Doctor of Divinity don't preach God out of the world, he only preaches the devil into his own church. If a man falls from a church steeple, he don't break the law of gravitation, but the law of gravitation breaks him.

A true believer in the Declaration of Independence is a Disunionist. The only reason we are not all Disunion Abolitionists is, that we are largely endowed with the peculiarly American faculty of perpetually resisting self-evident truth. The Republican party is an honest effort for freedom, although its policy is indefensible in the court of conscience, and lacks courage, faith and forecast. It never grappled with the slave question—is founded on a sentiment, *not* on a principle. The Union was always a conspiracy against the black man. [illegible] military experiment will be a failure; it is three centuries behind the times. As a pecuniary experiment, it is already bankrupt. As a moral experiment, it is high treason against Justice and Liberty, and will succeed when God dies—not till then.

Delegates were present from Fitchburg, Westminster and Princeton. One deaf man came eighteen miles to give his face to a meeting, the speech of which he could not hear.

The Committee on Nominations recommended the reelection of the present officers for the coming year, and the recommendation was unanimously adopted.

The Finance Committee collected $12.

GEO. F. COLBURN, *Sec'y pro tem.*

TRANSFER OF THE ANGLO-AFRICAN.

W. L. GARRISON:

DEAR SIR—There is considerable inquiry as to the change which has lately taken place in the *Anglo-African*. I think that it is but an act of justice to inform the anti-slavery public, and particularly its colored subscribers, that the paper was purchased last month for a sum by a white gentleman of this city, who paid the late proprietor six hundred dollars, cash, and gave the note of a Boston firm, white gentlemen, for the balance, ($500.) The same will be commented upon on a fitting occasion, when convenience will admit. At present, I will suggest, notwithstanding a colored man has been hired by its proprietors, and his name *used* as its editor, that the name of the paper be changed from *The Anglo-African* to *The Anglo-Saxon*.

GEO. T. DOWNING.

Boston, April, 1861.

Selected Articles.

EMANCIPATION OF THE SERFS IN RUSSIA.

The Manifesto of the Emperor Alexander, emancipating the serfs in his dominions, has been issued. It bears the date of February 19th (March 3d), 1861.

We publish *in extenso* this important document:—

MANIFESTO OF HIS MAJESTY THE EMPEROR.

By the grace of God, we, Alexander II., Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias, King of Poland, Grand Duke of Finland, &c., to all our faithful subjects made known:

Called by Divine Providence and by the sacred right of inheritance to the throne of our ancestors, we took a vow in our innermost heart so to respond to the mission which is intrusted to us as to surround with our affection and our Imperial solicitude all our faithful subjects of every rank, and of every condition, from the warrior, who nobly bears arms for the defence of his country, to the humble artisan devoted to the works of industry; from the official in the career of the high offices of the State, to the laborer, whose plough furrows the soil.

In considering the various classes and conditions of which the State is composed, we came to the conviction that the legislation of the empire having wisely provided for the organization of the upper and middle classes, and having defined with precision their obligations, their rights, and their privileges, has not attained the same degree of efficiency as regards the peasants attached to the soil (krepostnye), thus designated, because, either from ancient laws or from custom, they have been hereditarily subjected to the authority of the proprietors, on whom it was incumbent at the same time to provide for their welfare. The rights of the proprietors have been hitherto very extended and very imperfectly defined by the law, which has been supplied by tradition, custom, and the good pleasure of the proprietors. In the most favorable cases, this state of things has established patriarchal relations, founded upon a solicitude sincerely equitable and benevolent on the part of the proprietors, and on an affectionate submission on the part of the peasants; but in proportion as the simplicity of morals diminished, as the diversity of the mutual relations became complicated, as the paternal character of the relations between the proprietors and the peasants became weakened, and, moreover, as the seigneurial authority fell sometimes into hands exclusively occupied with their personal interests, those bonds of mutual good will slackened, and a wide opening was made for an arbitrary sway which weighed upon the peasants, was unfavorable to their welfare, and made them indifferent to all progress under the conditions of their existence.

These facts had already attracted the notice of our predecessors of glorious memory, and they had taken measures for improving the condition of the peasants; but among those measures some were not stringent enough, inasmuch as they remained subordinate to the spontaneous initiative of such proprietors [illegible] circumstances, have been restricted to certain localities or simply adopted as an experiment. It was thus that Alexander I. published the regulation for the free cultivators, and that the late Emperor Nicholas, our beloved father, promulgated that one which concerns the peasants bound by contract. In the Western Governments, regulations called "inventaries" had fixed the territorial allotments due to the peasants, as well as the amount of their rent dues; but all these reforms have only been applied in a very restricted manner.

We thus came to the conviction that the work of a serious improvement of the condition of the peasants was a sacred inheritance bequeathed to us by our ancestors,—a mission which, in the course of events, Divine Providence called upon us to fulfil.

We have commenced this work by an expression of our Imperial confidence towards the nobility of Russia, which has given us so many proofs of its devotion to the Throne, and of its constant readiness to make sacrifices for the welfare of the country.

It is to the nobles themselves, conformable to their own wishes, that we have reserved the task of drawing up the propositions for the new organization of the peasants,—propositions which make it incumbent upon them to limit their rights over the peasants, and to accept the onus of a reform which could not be accomplished without some material losses. Our confidence has not been deceived. We have seen the nobles assembled in committees in the districts, through the medium of their confidential agents, making the voluntary sacrifice of their rights as regards the personal servitude of the peasants. These committees, after having collected the necessary *data*, have formulated their propositions concerning the new organization of the peasants attached to the soil (*krepostnye*) in their relations with the proprietors.

These propositions having been found very diverse, as was to be expected from the nature of the question, they have been compared, collated, and reduced to a regular system, then rectified and completed in the superior committee instituted for that purpose; and these new dispositions thus formulated relative to the peasants and domestics (*dvorovye*) of the proprietors have been examined in the Council of the Empire.

Having invoked the Divine assistance, we have resolved to carry this work into execution.

In virtue of the new dispositions above mentioned, the peasants attached to the soil (*attaches a la glebe*) will be invested within a term fixed by the law with all the rights of free cultivators.

The proprietors retaining their rights of property on all the land belonging to them, grant to the peasants for a fixed regulated rental the full enjoyment of their close (*enclos*); and, moreover, to assure their livelihood and to guarantee the fulfilment of their obligations towards the Government, the quantity of arable land is fixed by the said dispositions, as well as other rural appurtenances (*ougodie*).

But, in the enjoyment of these territorial allotments, the peasants are obliged, in return, to acquit the rentals fixed by the same dispositions to the profit of the proprietors. In this state, which must be a transitory one, the peasants shall be designated as "temporarily bound" (*temporairement obliges*).

At the same time, they are granted the right of purchasing their close (*enclos*), and, with the consent of the proprietors, they may acquire in full property the arable lands and other appurtenances which are allotted to them as a permanent holding (*jouissance*). By the acquisition in full property of the quantity of land fixed, the peasants are free from their obligations towards the proprietors for land thus purchased, and they enter definitively into the condition of free peasants—landholders (*paysans libres—proprietaires*).

By a special disposition concerning the domestics (*gens de la domesticite—dvorovye*), a transitory state is fixed for them, adapted to their occupations and the exigencies of their position. On the expiration of a term of two years, dating from the day of the promulgation [illegible] their full enfranchisement and some temporary immunities.

It is according to these fundamental principles that the dispositions have been formulated which define the future organization of the peasants and of the domestics (*dvorovye*), which establish the order of the general administration of this class, and specify in all their details the rights given to the peasants and to the domestics, as well as the obligations imposed upon them towards the Government and towards the proprietors.

Although these dispositions, general as well as local, and the special supplementary rules for some particular localities, for the lands of small proprietors, and for the peasants who work in the manufactories and establishments (*usines*) of the proprietors, have been, as far as possible, adapted to economical necessities and local customs, nevertheless, to preserve the existing state where it presents reciprocal advantages, we leave it to the proprietors to come to amicable terms with the peasants, and to conclude transactions relative to the extent of the territorial allotment, and to the amount of rental to be fixed in consequence, observing at the same time the established rules to guarantee the inviolability of such agreements.

As the new organization, in consequence of the inevitable complexity of the changes which it necessitates, cannot be immediately put into execution; as a lapse of time is necessary, which cannot be less than two years or thereabouts, to avoid all misunderstanding, and to protect public and private interests during this interval, the system (*regime*) actually existing on the properties of land-owners (*seigneurs*) will be maintained up to the moment when a new system shall have been instituted by the completion of the required preparatory measures.

For which end, we have deemed it advisable to ordain:—

1. To establish in each district (*gouvernement*) a special Court for the question of the peasants; it will have to investigate the affairs of the rural communes established on the land of the lords of the soil (*seigneurs*).

2. To appoint in each district justices of the peace to investigate on the spot all misunderstandings and disputes which may arise on the occasion of the introduction of the new regulation, and to form district assemblies with these justices of the peace.

3. To organize in the seigneurial properties communal administrations, and to this end to leave the rural communes in their actual composition, and to open in the large villages district administrations (provincial boards) by uniting the small communes under one of these district administrations.

4. To formulate, verify, and confirm in each rural district or estate, a charter of rules (*une charte reglementaire—oustavannia gramoto*), in which shall be enumerated on the basis of the local statute, the amount of land reserved to the peasants in permanent enjoyment, and the extent of the charges which may be exacted from them for the benefit of the proprietor, as well for the land as for other advantages granted by him.

5. To put these charters of rules into execution as they are gradually confirmed in each estate, and to introduce their definitive execution within the term of two years, dating from the day of publication of the present manifesto.

6. Up to the expiration of this term, the peasants and domestics (*gens de la domesticite*) are to remain in the same obedience towards their proprietors, and to fulfil their former obligations without scruple.

7. The proprietors will continue to watch over the maintenance of order on their estates, with the right of jurisdiction and of police, until the organization of the districts (*volosti*) and of the district tribunals has been effected.

Aware of all the difficulties of the reform we have undertaken, we place above all things our confidence in the goodness of Divine Providence, who watches over the destinies of Russia.

We also count upon the generous devotion of our faithful nobility, and we are happy to testify to that body the gratitude it has deserved from us, as well as from the country, for the disinterested support it has given to the accomplishment of our designs. Russia will not forget that the nobility, acting solely upon its respect for the dignity of man and its love for its neighbor, has spontaneously renounced rights given to it by serfdom actually abolished, and laid the foundation of a new future, which is thrown open to the peasants. We also entertain the firm hope that it will also nobly exert its ulterior efforts to carry out the new regulation by maintaining good order, in a spirit of peace and benevolence, and that each proprietor will complete within the limits of his property the great civic act accomplished by the whole body, by organizing the existence of the peasants domiciliated on his estates, and of his domestics, under mutual advantageous conditions, thereby giving to the country population the example of a faithful and conscientious execution of the regulations of the State.

The numerous examples of the generous solicitude of the proprietors for the welfare of their peasants, [illegible] give us the hope that a mutual understanding will settle the majority of complications, in some cases inevitable, in the partial application of general rules to the different conditions under which isolated estates are placed; that in this manner the transition from the ancient order of things to the new will be facilitated; and that the future will strengthen definitively mutual confidence, a good understanding, and the unanimous impulsion towards public utility.

To render the transactions between the proprietors and the peasants more easy, in virtue of which the latter may acquire in full property their close (*enclos*, homestead) and the land they occupy, the Government will advance assistance according to a special regulation, by means of loans or a transfer of debts encumbering an estate.

We thus confidently rely upon the upright feeling of the nation.

When the first news of this great reform meditated by the Government became diffused among the rural populations, who were scarcely prepared for it, it gave rise in some instances to misunderstandings among individuals more intent upon liberty than mindful of the duties which it imposes. But generally the good sense of the country has not been wanting. It has not misunderstood either the inspirations of natural reason, which says that every man who accepts freely the benefits of society owes it in return the fulfilment of certain positive obligations; nor the teachings of the Christian law, which enjoins that "every one be subject unto the higher powers" (St. Paul to the Romans, xiii. 1); and to "render to all their dues," and, above all, to whomsoever it belongs, tribute, custom, respect, and honor, (*Ibid*, 7 v.) It has understood that the proprietors would not be deprived of rights legally acquired, except for a fit and sufficient indemnity, or by a voluntary concession on their part; that it would be contrary to all equity to accept this enjoyment of the lands conceded by the proprietors, without accepting also towards them equivalent charges.

And now we hope with confidence that the freed serfs, in the presence of the new future which is opened before them, will appreciate and recognize the considerable sacrifices which the nobility have made on their behalf. They will understand that the blessing of an existence supported upon the base of guaranteed property, as well as a greater liberty in the administration of their goods, entails upon them, with new duties towards society and themselves, the obligation of justifying the protecting designs of the law by a loyal and judicious use of the rights which are now accorded to them. For if men do not labor themselves to insure their own well-being under the shield of the laws, the best of those laws cannot guarantee it to them.

It is only by assiduous labor, a rational employment of their strength and their resources, a strict economy, and, above all, by an honest life, a life constantly inspired by the fear of the Lord, that they can arrive at prosperity and insure its development.

The authorities entrusted with the duty of preparing by preliminary measures the execution of the new organization, and of presiding at its inauguration, will have to see that this work is accomplished with calmness and regularity, taking into account the requirements of the seasons, in order that the cultivator may not be drawn away from his agricultural labors. Let him apply himself with zeal to those labors, that he may be able to draw from an abundant granary the seed which he has to confide to that land which will be given him for permanent enjoyment, or which he has acquired for himself as his own property.

And now, pious and faithful people, make upon thy forehead the sacred sign of the cross, and join thy prayers to ours to call down the blessings of the Most High upon thy first free labors, the sure pledge of thy personal well-being and of the public prosperity.

Given at St. Petersburg the 19th day of February (March 3d), of the Year of Grace 1861, and the seventh of Our reign. [illegible]

FRATERNAL LETTER FROM THE EMPEROR.

The *Journal de Saint Petersbourg* of the 7th of March publishes the following text of the rescript addressed by the Emperor Alexander to his brother, his Imperial Highness the Grand Duke Constantine Nicholaievitch:—

"IMPERIAL HIGHNESS: I have signed to-day the manifesto which concedes to the peasants of the nobles the rights of free cultivators, and I have sanctioned the general and local regulations, as well as those concerning the peasants and domestic serfs freed from the glebe—measures that had been previously examined under your Presidentship, in the superior committee appointed to examine the question of the peasantry, and then submitted to the deliberation of the Council of the Empire.

On this very day, so memorable for Russia, the impulse of my heart and the feeling of my duty make me desirous of expressing to you my most earnest and profound gratitude for the exactitude, dispatch, and perfect conformity with my views and expectation with which this important affair of State has been brought to a conclusion. Since the 15th of July, 1860, the day on which you were called upon to form part of the Committee created for the projected reform, you have incessantly taken the most active part in all my labors, and when, after the completion, in the month of October, 1860, of the labors of the subordinate Committees, I convoked the superior Committee for the examination of the projects presented by them, I charged, through the particular confidence I reposed in you, your Highness to preside over that Committee.

You have fully justified that confidence. After having attentively and deeply studied everything that bore on the important and various questions necessarily raised by the scrutiny of the measures already projected, or of those that might assist in the perfecting of them, in your ardent zeal for the public good you have consecrated every day your efforts, the whole of your time, to the labors of the Superior Committee. Also, thanks to you, particularly, for the detailed examination, in all its parts, of this vast work, the correction and completion of the projects, the solution of all the uncertainties that arose pending this work; lastly, the drawing up of several new regulations have been finished within the period defined by me.

I invite your Highness to express my sincere gratitude to the members of the Superior Committee charged with the settlement of the question of the peasants, for the proofs they have given of indefatigable and meritorious activity. I shall not forget the manner in which your Imperial Highness and all the members of the Superior Committee have acted on this important occasion, and with myself all Russia will preserve the remembrance of it, beyond a doubt. The future is known to God alone, and the final success of the great work undertaken depends on His holy will, always merciful. Nevertheless, from this time henceforth we can say to ourselves, with a tranquil conscience, that we have employed for the completion of this work every means in our power, and we can hope humbly that Providence, who protects our well-beloved country, will bless the accomplishment of our designs, the purity of which is known to it.

In sanctioning the projects relating to the emancipation of the peasants and domestic serfs, also to the settlement of their condition for the future, I have deemed it indispensable to take measures at the same time for the organization of the entire rural class upon general and uniform bases. With this object, I create a Special Committee under my immediate direction, of which I name you a member in according to you the Presidency. I have the conviction that, when acquainted with my views and wishes in this matter, you will actively undertake, with your usual zeal, that nothing can diminish, the labors of this fresh work, so intimately connected with the one already terminated.

I remain, ever your cordially affectionate and grateful ALEXANDER.

St. Petersburg, Feb. 19."

MANIFESTO OF THE CZAR.

The Manifesto of the Czar is throughout in most striking contrast with the recent Manifestos of the leaders of the rebel slaveholders in this country. Gov. Pickens and Mr. A. H. Stevens, in their addresses, with brutal coolness doom a whole race to eternal bondage, and proclaim as a Divine revelation and as a truth destined to be as memorable and as honored as any ever announced by sage or philosopher, the detestable dogma that man has no natural rights, and that certain classes are born to serve and to suffer—to be beasts of burden for the convenience and profit of others. The Russian autocrat, on the contrary, admits that man has certain rights, and declares that the nobility, [illegible] *respect for the dignity of man and its love for its neighbor*, has spontaneously renounced rights given to it by serfdom, and laid the foundation of a new future which is thrown open to the peasants." The Southern Democrats blasphemously appeal to the Bible and to the teachings of Christ to sanction the most atrocious violation of the highest principles of Christianity, while the Emperor calls upon his pious and faithful people to join their prayers to his for "the blessing of the Most High upon their first free labors, the sure pledge of their personal well-being and of the public prosperity."

Between democratic slaveholding and imperial emancipation—between the Christianity that breaks every bond and lets the oppressed go free, and the Christianity that rivets more tightly the shackles of the slave—between the religion that elevates and that which degrades mankind, no sound mind can long hesitate which to prefer. The whole world and all succeeding ages will applaud the Emperor Alexander for the abolition of slavery in Russia. But what does the world think, what will future generations think, of the attempt to make slavery perpetual in America?—*New York Tribune.*

TRUTH. The following from a speech of Hon. Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, should be remembered. Referring to the seceding member of Buchanan's Cabinet, he said:—

"Cobb remained in the Cabinet until the treasury was bankrupt and the national credit disgraced at home and abroad, and then he conscientiously seceded; Thompson stayed in until the poor Indians were robbed out of a large portion of their patrimony, and then conscientiously seceded; and Floyd, more honest than the rest, waited until he and his friends had taken some eight millions of public and private money, and then he, pious soul, conscientiously seceded too."

This is a very graphic description by a brave and outspoken man.

"THE HERALD OF PROGRESS" AND THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE.

"*The Herald of Progress*" has the fairness to copy entire the letter of PARKER PILLSBURY, which was published in the *Liberator* of the 5th inst., censuring the course of the *Herald* in relation to the Anti-Slavery cause, and appends the following comments:—

We print this week the above positive and candid articles from the pens of Parker Pillsbury and Mr. Garrison. It seems to us that, from them, the reader cannot fail to gather a plain understanding of the views taken by our Boston brethren of the peculiar mission of the *Herald of Progress*.

"All seems lost." Friend Pillsbury bears "a reluctant testimony, from a solemn conviction that fidelity to his mission imperatively demands it." In like manner we speak, from our own individual experience and observation, and do hereby declare that, while there are some, but not very many, Abolitionists, who understand and nobly serve the cause of Freedom and Humanity, the greater part are just the same obstacle and dead weight to the advancement of the Kingdom of Heaven (Peace) on Earth, as are any of the most *bitter* and *bigoted* sects or parties in the land.

It gives us great pain to see the *Liberator* in the "Refuge of Injustice" to any portion of our common humanity. But our strong friendship for its editor is not disturbed. What we found in the constitution of his mind is written in the "Penetralia." But of Mr. Pillsbury we are not yet perfectly assured. We have hoped, without large expectations, that he would proclaim the gospel of Freedom without *violating* the divine principles of Fraternal Love. "The many noble testimonies he has borne in behalf of humanity, crushed down to chattelism and brutality, have inspired in us high hopes in his behalf."

But, we repeat, "all seems lost." He has by his letter placed the *Liberator* where, at present, it be[illegible]sand times more clearly seen if we were to insert two *equally unjust* editorial comments on the *Herald of Progress*, which appeared, one a long time since in the *Tribune*, and, recently, the other in the *World*—a very religious daily of this city. From the *Tribune* we learned that our journal was devoted to advertising for not very refined parties who needed conjugal partners. From the *World* we were further enlightened to the effect that some of our writers were teaching "suicide," and that other contributors were filling our pages with incomprehensible twaddle. And lastly, by the justice-loving and impartial *Liberator*, we learn, with its editor's sanction, that the *Herald of Progress* belongs in the "Refuge of Oppression"! (1) With such teachers, we shall certainly arrive at a correct knowledge of the truth!

We do not object to the *Liberator's* plan of putting Mr. Baldwin's articles in the "Refuge of Oppression," nor do we anticipate from Mr. Garrison any other treatment of authors, however honest, who promulgate the terrible theories and tyrannical creeds of servitude; but it surprises us that he (Mr. Garrison) does not, with his clear sight, discern the *mental*, and *moral*, and *political*, and even *physical* FREEDOM which animates and pervades the "lines" and "precepts" of the *Herald of Progress*.

We have long differed from the convictions and arguments of cherished friends with regard to the possible improvement of the spirit of Abolitionists. That they can be made to feel and act, as well as to print and preach, the doctrine of UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD, irrespective of race or religion, we have many times affirmed and taught. For the past seven years, in spite of the friendship of friends and the threatenings of enemies, we have identified our efforts with those of the Abolition school. Our theory has been, and is, that Spiritualists would be far more powerful and fearless in Reform, had they a stronger infusion of the moral courage and commanding energy of the anti-slavery character; and, on the other hand, we have said, and do still believe, that the crude, angular, and denunciatory characteristics of the New England anti-slavery school would be greatly improved and glorified by a very general infusion of the divine sentiments and exalting principles of the Harmonial Philosophy. The marriage of these schools of modern reform, we observe, has been invariably productive of good fruits. Separately, they are neither friendly nor effective. Together, they are energetic and full of good works. This, we repeat, has been and is our theory of intermarriage between naturally independent, but inseparably operative, schools of moral and governmental progress.

But we are compelled to bear "a reluctant testimony," after several years of sincere labor for the *unity of reform*—and this testimony emanates from "a solemn conviction that fidelity to our mission imperatively demands it"—namely: That thus far all attempts to coöperate with Abolitionists, as such, in the spiritualization and fraternization of mankind, have ended, and we fear must end, in sad disappointment. "Of course, we speak only from our own individual observation and experience."

Who, that believes in accomplishing the ends of justice, *by and through fraternal love*, is not sickened with the eternal diatribes of anti-slavery lectures? What code of morals, what sort of insight, what standard of justice and of good manners, is it which enables Parker Pillsbury to characterize his brethren (Lincoln, Seward, Wilson, Adams, &c.,) "*as hollow, heartless demagogues and dastards*"? Does Mr. Pillsbury believe in total depravity—in hells and devils—in men who do evil for the love of evil, *per se*?

"All seems lost." After years of attempted coöperation with these New England gentlemen, who are so social in sympathy, and so capable of reasoning from cause to effect, we experience not a little disappointment. They leap "into their native wildness," and let off a brace of columbiads at *the very heart* of the persons for whose moral and spiritual development they profess, in part, to be laboring. "If more relied on love to guide, the world would be the better for it."

The fact is, and our morally proud anti-slavery brethren must be told it, that the "friends of the slave" (as they term themselves) need to learn a *lesson of practical love for their enemies and accusers*. They preach and publish the lesson very grandly, in every desk and in every paper within their control, but we call upon them to *feel it all and practice it all forevermore*. Who will volunteer to go as missionaries of peace among our anti-slavery friends? We call for only such minds as will promulgate the UNIVERSAL LOVE PRINCIPLE among them, without "conciliation, concession, or compromise." No others need apply. The same band of volunteer missionaries can undoubtedly extend their labor into the slaveholding States. If they are good enough to "eat with publicans and sinners," they will transcend all sectarianism, and perchance associate themselves with slaveholders. [illegible] self-righteousness, unite with their honest-minded Southern brethren in a common effort to universalize freedom, and consequently to establish an era of peace and good will all over the inhabited earth.

In conclusion, with not a word of either conciliation or compromise to offer, we commend the attention of our Boston brethren to the following passage, which, although rather "gingerly" when measured by the standard of an eye for an eye, appeared in that copy of the *Liberator* which contained Parker Pillsbury's letter:—

"Northern men believe in the existence of great human capabilities, and in that culture which will best bring them to view. They live in time, but look forward to eternity, and so they are vigilant to stimulate every interest that may help the cause of human development, and consequent preparation for a nobler life hereafter. The great mission of the North is to unfold its own natural, moral, and intellectual forces, that it may be instrumental in the uplifting of the lowly the world over; and *it recognizes no remedies for abuses which spring from the conflict of base passions*. It ignores the bloody field of strife, not from fear, but from an enlightened policy. It would, in the settlement of all questions, substitute the olive branch for the sword—reason for brute force. If men are in the wrong, to kill is not to reform. To extinguish the light of the eye is not to see. . . . The glory, honor or salvation of a people, lies not in numbers, in wealth or skill, in art or arms. Its education, not of the intellect alone, but of its heart qualities, *to deal gently with the vicious and degraded, to use its strength to raise up the weak, and to show, by a life of fair dealing with the neighbor, the superiority of mind and soul over matter and physical force*."

ANDREW JACKSON DAVIS.

(1) It was not "*The Herald of Progress*" that we consigned to the "Refuge of Oppression," but only an abominable pro-slavery communication which appeared in the columns of that paper, written by a Southern correspondent; and which very properly belonged to that department—did it not?—[*Ed. Lib.*